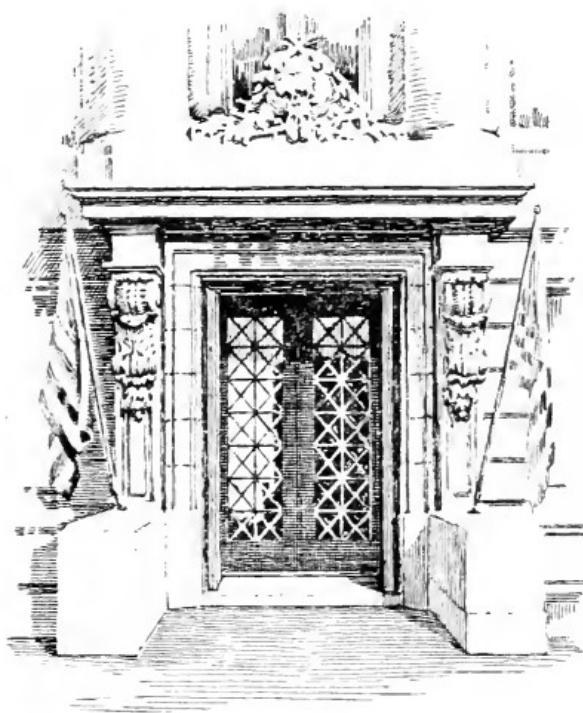


INDIAN NOTES



MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

AND MONOGRAPHS



HEY FOUNDATION





MITÄWIN MEMORIAL RITES FOR CHIEF NI'MONIT OSHKOSH

INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

EDITED BY F. W. HODGE



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MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE MENOMINI

BY

ALANSON SKINNER

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PREFACE



THE data on which this article is based were obtained among the Menomoni Indians of Wisconsin during a series of studies extending over eleven years, conducted in behalf of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and the American Museum of Natural History. Thanks are due to the latter institution for photographs of specimens collected by the writer, and to the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee for photographs taken in the field by Dr S. A. Barrett and illustrations of articles collected by him.

Among Indian informants to whom special credit is due for their interest are the following, many of whom are deceased. The names of those no longer living are marked with an asterisk:

Ni'opît Oshkosh,* Pitwâ'skûm* and wife,*

Wiû'skäsít,* Ke'soa'pomesäo* and wife,* Thomas Ko'kosh,* Wä'sikwonät,* Nä'tci-wishko,* John Keshena* and wife,* Naiäto-wa'pikineu,* Mrs John Perrote,* So'man Jim,* Big Jim Pä''monit,* Judge John Perrote,* John Amob, Wa'niskum, James Blackcloud, Dave Wa'pus, Wi'sânokût, Kse'watsa, Kine'sa, Kime'wûn Oke'mas, Jane Kä'käk, Antoine Shí'pikau, Louis Kä'kwatc, Philip Näku'ti,* Mrs Wiû'skäsít, Mrs Kopai'as Weke Hog, Peter and Jim Fish, Matilda Jackson, Joe and Sophie Pecore, Louis Pigeon, Mrs Ni'opít Oshkosh, Nwägi'zikwäp, Mrs Naia'towapomi; last, and most important of all, ex-captain of Indian Police, John V. Satterlee.

Supplementary data have been gathered from time to time at first hand among the Eastern Cree, 1908-09; the Plains Cree, 1913; the Northern Saulteaux (Ojibwa), 1909; the Plains Ojibwa, 1913; the Forest Potawatomi, 1912; the Winnebago, 1909; the Eastern Dakota, the Iowa, Oto, Ponca, and Kansa, 1914; the Seminole, 1910; the Seneca, 1904; and the Oneida, 1909. These additional data have been of considerable

aid in making a comparative study of the material culture of the Menomini.

The pronunciation of native terms is indicated by the use of the symbols appended, the letters not included having their continental values. Sounds indicated by our letters f and r do not occur.

<i>ä</i>	as in flat.	<i>ê</i>	as in bet.
<i>å</i>	as aw in raw.	<i>û</i>	as in luck.
<i>au</i>	as ow in how.	<i>u</i>	a whispered terminal u.
<i>ai</i>	as in aisle.	<i>*s</i>	a whispered aspirant.
<i>î</i>	as in bit.	,	glottal stop.

ALANSON SKINNER.



MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE MENOMINI

BY ALANSON SKINNER

I. MENOMINI CULTURE IN GENERAL

INTRODUCTION

N ORDER that the reader may obtain that insight into Menomini life which is essential before the material culture of the tribe can be fully appreciated, a brief digest of the writer's previous work will be presented before taking up the principal subject of this monograph. As a matter of course, details cannot be given, but for the benefit of those desirous of pursuing the subject further, a bibliography pertaining thereto will be found at the conclusion of the paper. It is regrettable that ethnological writings cannot be made to give an adequate idea of the at-

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mosphere of Indian life, nor to bring out sufficiently the personality of the people dealt with; therefore a few words concerning the character of the Menomini as they are today may not be amiss.

The Menomini, who now dwell on their reservation in north-central Wisconsin, are a typical Algonkian people in language, belonging to the same sub-group as the Sauk and Fox, whose dialects resemble Cree rather than Ojibwa. While two-thirds or more of the tribe of some 1750 souls now profess Christianity, the remainder are either frankly "pagan" or are in sympathy with pagan beliefs. The spread of the "Peyote religion" has been very limited among them, and has met with such determined opposition on the part of the adherents of all other beliefs, that only a few outlying families connected with the Winnebago and the Potawatomi by marital ties have been converted. Of these, some have since sought and received reinstatement in the ancient tribal rites.

From a conservative people, among whom old customs and especially religion were in full vigor up to very recently, it has been a

difficult task, at best, to acquire information. An added difficulty has been the psychology of even the most willing informants. In the writer's experience the Algonkian is a mystic, a dreamer, whose ideas are often so vague and uncrystalized that it is difficult for him to express them in words. The Siouan and the Iroquoian Indians, with their more practical minds, are always able to present a concrete idea in comprehensible form, something by which an Algonkian is at times completely baffled.

With the Menomini, therefore, the gaining of data has been a tedious process. The writer's first visit to their reservation was made in 1909, and in addition to many subsequent trips, he has been and still is in constant correspondence with several members of the tribe. By patience and persistent questioning, a mass of definite facts has been elicited. Hostile secretiveness has been virtually overcome through years of association; for when one has taken part in native feasts and sacrifices, or sat in the ceremonies of the secret societies; when one has assisted in the funeral rites of the dead, hunted and

fished, eaten and slept, with the living, intimacy comes at length. Constant cultivation of friendship with the shamans and elders, assistance of the needy (for no Menomini who receives a kindness feels entirely free of obligation until some favor has been done in return), and adoption into the family of a leading priest and shaman, have all played their part. Thus have come the data and specimens needed for illustration, often as free tokens of friendship, to form a record of Menomini life.

Two fine old men have contributed largely to the success of this undertaking, ex-captain of Indian Police, John V. Satterlee, and the late Indian Court Judge John (Sabatis) Perrote. Captain Satterlee in particular has labored incessantly, often without remuneration, to have the annals of his people made complete.

Ordinary exoteric matters of daily life were less difficult to record, especially as many customs could still be observed at first hand. But, conservative as were the Menomini, two events in recent years have acted to make a sudden end of the old-time

culture. The influenza epidemic of 1919-20 swept away many members of the Pagan party, especially those elders in whose memories reposed the rituals of the ceremonies. The war with Germany also had a powerful effect on the tribe, though but few of the Menomini, as compared with their Siouan neighbors, the Winnebago, were carried to Europe. The fact that the Government accepted their young men as soldiers, and asked them, on equal terms with their white neighbors, for pecuniary and moral assistance, encouraged them to realize their equality with their white compatriots. The Menomini have definitely turned from the old road, and while many will persist in continuing their ancient customs for some years to come, their ranks will lessen with ever-increasing rapidity. The old way is doomed.

To those familiar with some bands of the Ojibwa, the Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, and Winnebago, all of whom have been intimately associated with the Menomini, it will doubtless seem surprising that many customs apparently common to all the Cen-

tral tribes vary greatly from people to people when intensively observed. The phenomenon is quite general; even tribes of the same linguistic stock, closely related politically and socially, are prone to hold startlingly divergent beliefs, and to maintain outwardly similar yet inwardly incomprehensible rites and ceremonies.

In concluding, it should be noted that several phases of Menomini life are yet to be fully studied. The language of the people requires further attention; their music has been neglected and their rich ethno-botany furnishes an alluring field for research.

RELIGION

The present religion of the Menomini is a complex of ancient and modern beliefs, many of which seem confused and contradictory. But when examined with attention to the extraneous influences brought to bear on the tribe within historic times, these readily emerge from their obscurity. From the writings of the Jesuits and other early French adventurers, and from modern tribal

practices and traditions, in many cases virtually identical with those found in vogue by the first white chroniclers, it becomes apparent that the tribe has always possessed a mass of concepts concerning the universe, which may be stated briefly as follows.

The earth is believed to be an island, floating in an illimitable ocean, separating the two halves of the universe into an upper and a lower portion, regarded as the abode of the benevolent and the malevolent powers, respectively. Each portion is divided into four superimposed tiers, inhabited by supernatural beings, the power of whom increases in ratio to their remoteness from the earth. In the highest tier above the earth resides the deity to whom all others are subordinate. The testimony of the early writers is unanimous that this being was the Sun, but he is now, probably through missionary influence, personified as the Great Spirit (*Mätc Häwä'tük*), leaving the Sun in an anomalous position.

Beneath the supreme being, in descending order, some say clustered about a cylin-

drical opening in the heavens, are three tiers of bird-like deities. First, in the empyrean, come the Thunderbirds, gods of war. Associated with these, in some manner not apparent, is the Morning Star. Next comes the realm of the Golden or War Eagles, and the White Swan; and last, in the stratum which touches the earth, birds of all species, headed by the Bald Eagles and various hawks, kites, and swallows. All these birds, regardless of stratum, are servants and messengers of the Great Spirit, any existing species named being thought to be earthly representatives of the Thunderers.

Except for the Sun and the Morning Star, little attention is paid to the heavenly bodies. The Moon is regarded as possessed of power, but is not important. There are also certain minor sacred personages who dwell in the sky-country, among whom are several sisters who preside over the destinies of women, and to whom various colors are appropriate. Their place in the heavenly strata is not fixed.

Beneath the earth, there is, in the lowest

tier, the Great White Bear with a long copper tail, who, in addition to being the chief and patron of all earthly bears and the traditional ancestor of the Menomini tribe, is the principal power for evil. He has, as a servant, a mythical hairless bear. Next, in ascending order, is the great Underground Panther, who figures extensively in the demonology of the Central Algonkian and Southern Siouan tribes. He is represented on earth by the panther and the lynx. Next is the White Deer, prominent in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance. Last of all, close to the earth, and often visible to its inhabitants, is the Horned Hairy Serpent, so generally found in North American mythology.

The earth itself is peopled by a myriad of fantastic hobgoblins. Cannibal giants dwell in the icy region of the north; a malevolent living skeleton, with death-dealing eyes, haunts the forests after nightfall. Similar to him, but less terrible, is a mysterious person bearing a sacred bundle upon his back, who, like the Wandering Jew, is doomed to travel ceaselessly in expiation of

some forgotten sin. He wrestles with Indians from time to time, and, if overcome, grants his conqueror long life; if he is the victor, the days of the vanquished are numbered.

A race of pygmies inhabits remote rocky fastnesses. A well-disposed elf smites people on the head with a soft warclub, causing sleep. Flying heads and skulls, of varying intentions toward the race of men, exist; and there is a mysterious man who follows and molests belated travelers. Rocks, ponds, and hills have their fancied denizens. All species of animals are ruled by supernatural chiefs, mostly dwelling underground, and these, with the Powers of the Underworld, show themselves on earth from time to time. In swamp-holes, lakes, and rivers, under waterfalls, and in lonely hills may be found stray horned snakes, bears, panthers, and, in modern times, dogs, hogs, and horses.

Wringing their living from a reluctant earth filled with such marvelous and often dangerous beings, menaced by the imaginary forces of the Underworld, what wonder that

the earliest traceable religious observances among the Menomini and their neighbors are those of propitiation and supplication of the Evil Forces! True, the Good Gods are not forgotten; for instance, it is believed that only the incessant warfare waged by the Thunderers upon the Powers Below prevents their constant appearance on earth to the bane of men; but, working on the theory that it was wise to placate that which they could in no wise combat, the elders dedicated the greater part of the sacrifices of antiquity to the Nether Gods. At an early date, however, we find that sacred objects and rites, supposed to have been given in dreams to individuals for the benefit of the tribe, were known. Chief of these articles were the war-bundles, strong charms for defense and offense.

Certain men who succeeded in getting *en rapport* with the deities, as for example, members of the *Wa'bano* cult, who are prophets, seers, and jugglers, through the aid of the Morning Star, or of the *Je'sako-wîk*, who are doctors and diviners through supernatural visions, came to be recognized,

as did sorcerers, who obtained personal benefits from the Powers of Evil in return for harassing their fellowmen.

The matter of getting into communication with the deities, or some of them, was the private concern of every individual of the tribe, male or female, and was accomplished by fasting, and thus "incubating," or artificially inducing, dream-revelations when at the age of puberty. In this way were the war and hunting bundles obtained, as well as personal charms, fetishes, and the rituals of various loosely organized cults, such as the "Buffalo Dance," and the extinct "Thunder Society."

Sacrifices of food, clothing, dogs, and, especially, tobacco, were and are constantly made to all supernatural powers, accompanying petitions for various gifts and blessings. Tobacco is supposed to be highly prized by all the deities, and no prayer is complete without it. Such an offering must be made to all medicine-bags or bundles on displaying, opening, or disturbing them.

No request for information of the esoteric

sort addressed to the elders is valid without being accompanied with the herb. Tobacco is sacrificed by placing it on or near the object to which it is offered, by throwing it in the air, if the recipient addressed is one of the Powers Above, or burying it in the earth if he be one of the Underworld Gods. It is often smoked, and the pipe or its fumes proffered, but it is almost never cast on the fire for incense.

Traceable to an early beginning, founded wholly on the foregoing beliefs, and intimately associated with the tribal origin and cosmogonic myths, are the religious teachings of the important and little-understood society called the *Mitä'win*. In the cosmogonic myth we are told that the Great Spirit (Sun) created the earth and caused it to spring up on itself personified as a woman ("our grandmother"), and that she eventually became miraculously pregnant and gave birth to a daughter. The daughter in turn conceived, some say through the agency of the Four Winds, but she was torn asunder in childbirth, having previously borne a being known as the Great Hare (*Mätc Wa'pus*,

since corrupted into *Mä''näbus*), a wolf, also known as *Na'xpatö*, an anthropomorphic personage, and a flint stone, the latter issuing unnaturally and causing her death. Some versions of the myth make her also the mother of all animal kind.

Of the children, the Great Hare, who rarely appears except in human form, is by far the most important, for he alone is imbued with the power of the Great Spirit. He proceeded to prepare the world for its coming occupancy by human tenants through a series of tremendous and heroic deeds, including the recreation of the earth after the flood.

Although it seems difficult to reconcile the character of the timid and foolish hare with that of the great earth-making Culture God, child of the primal forces, if we accept Brinton's hypothesis that among Algonkians the name of the hero was originally compounded not with the word *wa'pus*, a hare, but with *wa'pan*, meaning dawn, east, or light (I have here employed the Menomini native terms), and has since become confused by oral descent through gen-

erations until it has assumed its present form, we have a worthy native conception of a heroic demigod.¹

This encourages further speculation. The Menomini, and indeed the Central Algonkians in general, may well have possessed in their folklore a Hare trickster, corresponding with the Plains Spider or Coyote, who was responsible for the cycle of comic, senseless, and obscene escapades, which now, through this confusion of identity between *wa'pan* and *wa'pus*, are appended to the mighty achievements of the Culture Hero-God though utterly foreign to his original character. In this connection it is interesting to note that the more northerly Ojibwa and Cree have a trickster, whose name, *Tcika'pis*, may conceivably be derived from '*tci wa'pus*', or Great Hare, in addition to the Culture Hero-God.² This theory would at once make clear one of the hitherto inexplicable puzzles of North American mythology, and the solution is rendered the more probable by the fact that it is principally the foolish and unworthy incidents of the dual cycle which are found generally diffused over the

greater part of the continent; the serious cosmogonic, and especially the sacred ritualistic myths, being confined to the Central Algonkians, and perhaps not to all of them.

THE MITÄ'WIN ORIGIN MYTH

Be this as it may, in his endeavors to better existing conditions for the benefit of his human successors, *Mä''näbus* angered the Evil Gods, who sought to slay him. Failing in this, they did away with his younger brother the Wolf. In revenge, the Great Dawn destroyed some of their number and wounded others, later killing them by substituting himself for their doctor and thus gaining admission to their homes. In order to escape, the remaining Evil Beings, in consultation with the Good Powers, decided to offer the Great Dawn their secret knowledge of prolongation of life by the magic and medicinal use of herbs and roots, the hairs of our Earth Grandmother. To this they added the assurance of, if not immortality, at least a safe journey and certain admission to the Abode of the Dead,

through the songs and ritual of the Medicine Lodge.

Persuaded to accept, through the unsought solicitation of Otter, the Great Dawn attended the conference, and was initiated by the Gods in their Celestial Medicine Lodge; the ceremony consisting, in part, of his being attacked in succession by four of the leaders, who "shot" into his body the essence of the power contained in the medicine-bags which they carried, these being composed of the animal skins or natures which they had worn, and of which they had divested themselves for the occasion, in order to assume human form. The Great Dawn was slain by this supernatural essence, but was later brought to life, and was then possessed, not only of the power thus injected into him, but of more than earthly knowledge. Bidden to carry the rites of the Celestial Lodge to mankind, his "uncles and aunts," he did appear to them, and introduced the still existing Medicine Dance, the ritual of which embodies the dramatization of this myth, and in many fundamental concepts so closely resembles the rites of the

white society known as the Free and Accepted Masons, that only the undoubted pre-European origin of the Indian fraternity makes suspicion of influence by contact untenable. Like the Masons, the *Mitä'win* is a closed organization, which keeps its ritual secret from non-members, even within the tribe. Initiation is by purchase, the candidate often taking the place of a deceased member, and neither age nor sex bars anyone from membership.

To the members of the society the Great Dawn is more than one of the series of tribal gods; he is the principal deity. He is revered as the giver, through the other gods, of life, future existence, curative medicines and formulae; he is patron of the *Je'sako* doctors and seers, master of game, and donor of the hunting-bundles and charms. Members of the society are called familiarly, among themselves, "followers of *Mä'näbus*," and the rites of the lodge and the fraternal help it extends to its members are "the ways of the Great Dawn." These are facts with which students of North American ethnology have not been familiar,

though many of them were noted by the earliest explorers.

THE DREAMERS

At a very much later period, probably just before the middle of the last century, a new religious cult was introduced among the Menomini, probably by the Potawatomi of the Prairie. This is a society called "The Dancing Men," or "The Dreamers," whose rites are founded on a ritual supposed to have been given to a little girl in a dream, subsequent to a battle between whites and Indians. A spirit appeared to the little fugitive and promised her protection for her people, provided they worshiped the Great Spirit through the medium of a special drum. To do this, a society was formed, having various chapters, each provided with its quota of officers, on the plan of many of the Southern Siouan societies. The association holds periodical public ceremonies outdoors, and private performances, mainly to heal the sick, indoors. It is not secret, nor is admission by purchase.

The chief paraphernalia are a huge sacred

drum and its accompanying pipes, which are constantly attended, day and night, by a member appointed as guard; and the eagle-feather bustle worn during certain of the outdoor dances. Membership does not debar one from the *Mitä'win*, and of late years, with the gradual decay of the definite functions and titles of the officers as originally conceived, a curious confusion of the tenets of this society with those of the *Mitä'win* has been noted.

PEYOTE

Since 1914, or perhaps a few years earlier, the so-called "Peyote religion" has put in an appearance in certain settlements where members of the tribe are married to Winnebago or Potawatomi addicts. As the writer has not undertaken the study of this new craze with any of the limited number of its Menomini adherents, he is not in a position to speak with authority on the subject. The dogma of the members is reported to be a mixture of pagan and Christian beliefs, which seem to be entirely of an ennobling and uplifting character, but the accompa-

nying ceremonies consist largely in the procuring of visions by means of the use of the powerful narcotic peyote, which can have only a deleterious effect on its users. The cult is not secret, but membership in the order precludes any in all other societies, and demands the abandonment of all ancient practices, with the destruction of their paraphernalia. If its converts increase materially in numbers (which at present seems improbable, owing to the opposition of the conservatives among both Christian and pagan parties, coupled with the antagonism of the government officers attached to the reservation), its success will mean the death-blow to all the ancient customs of the tribe, already decadent, without the compensation of any advantageous or progressive substitute.

THE HEREAFTER

It is believed that each person is possessed of two separate souls. One, really the ghost, is the intellect, which resides in the head. This spirit lingers about the graveyard for an indefinite time after the

funeral, and gives sharp whistling cries at night. Offerings of food are made to it. The other is the true soul, which is immortal, and travels over the Road of the Dead (The Milky Way) to the Land of Spirits. One of the principal objects of the *Mitā'win*, or Medicine Lodge Society, is to prepare members to make this difficult journey in safety.

The road to the Otherworld is broad and plainly marked, but various obstacles and temptations are found along the way, designed to lead the unworthy astray. As the length of the pilgrimage is four days and four nights, at the funeral ceremonies the souls of slain enemies are ordered by the warriors who killed them to accompany, guide, and care for the deceased. These servants light the fires and prepare the camps at night. It was for use on the trip to the Otherworld, and not for service in that land, that weapons and utensils were formerly placed in the grave.

Just before the Land of the Departed is reached, a river is encountered, over which the only passage is by means of a slippery

log. A huge dog guards this bridge, and he never permits evildoers, nor those who have maltreated dogs or wolves in life, to cross. Even if an evil soul is allowed to attempt a crossing, it is likely to be precipitated into the stream and to be swept on eternally. If, however, a soul succeeds in reaching the other side, it is welcomed by the spirits of those who have gone before, and joins them in feasting and playing lacrosse forever.

The Otherworld is ruled by *Na'xpatäo*, or Little Wolf, the brother of *Mä'näbus*, who was slain by the Powers Beneath. After a soul has been in his care for four days, he sends for it, washes it, and cleanses it of all earthly knowledge. It is then endowed with heavenly lore, and becomes oblivious of most of the facts concerning its previous existence on earth.

A year after the death of a member of the *Mitä'win*, his relatives call a meeting of the society and hold a memorial ceremony at which prayers are addressed to *Na'xpatäo*, requesting him to release the soul of the deceased, that it may return to earth long

enough to participate in a feast of the dead. A person of the same age and sex as the departed is selected to wear the latter's best suit of clothes, preserved for this occasion by the mourners, and to impersonate the returned soul. After the feast the impersonator is faced to the west, and the soul is dismissed to return to the realm of *Na'xpatao*. Often as an alternative a large public ceremony is held (pl. I-III), at which the impersonator is initiated into the society to take the place of the dead member.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

TRIBAL ORIGIN MYTH

According to the tribal origin myth, in the mystical past the Great Underground Bear and its mate came out of the earth near the mouth of the Menominee river, and there assumed human guise, becoming the tribal ancestors. Later they were joined by metamorphosed Thunderers, the beaver, black bear, crane, wolf, bald eagle, and others. As the eagle assisted the bear, and a wave the Wolf, the Bear-Eagle and Wolf-Wave people became partners, and

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CARRYING THE DRUM FROM THE MEDICINE LODGE TO THE
GRAVE OF CHIEF NI'OPIT OSHKOSH



MEMBERS OF THE MEDICINE SOCIETY ASSEMBLED ABOUT THE GRAVE OF CHIEF
NI'OPIT OSHKOSH

were the ancestors of two groups of linked gentes, the members of which address each other, in each case, as "*nito'täm.*" Although it is thus apparent that the member of each gens are supposedly descended from metamorphosed animals, in ordinary practice the Indians regard actual animals as having been their forefathers. Thus they are related to modern representatives of these animals, and, in consequence, I have heard, for example, an Indian of the Bear gens address a living bear as "brother."

GENTES AND PHRATRIES

The phratries of the Menomini with their remembered gentes are seven. The first gens enumerated in each phratry is the leader of that group and gives it its name. They are:

- I { 1. Great Ancestral Bear, *Sekä'tcokemau*
2. Snapping Turtle, *Mikä'nâ*
3. Porcupine, *Kitä'mi^u*

- II { 1. Big Sand (name of a mythical bear),
Ketcinä'kau
2. Black Bear, *Äwä'sê* } linked gentes
3. Bald Eagle, *Pinä'siu*

- III { 1. Wolf-Wave, } linked gentes
 { 2. *Mu'hwäo-Teko*
 { 3. Fox, *Wa'ko*
 { 4. Dog, *Anä'm*
 { 5. Deer, *Apä'sos*
- IV { 1. Beaver, *Nomä'*
 { 2. Muskrat, *Osû's*
- V { 1. Crane, *Kwûtä'tcia*
 { 2. Shagpoke, *Wapikisu'nien*
- VI 1. Elk, *Oma'skos*
- VII { 1. Thunderbird, *Inä'mäki'u*
 { 2. War or Golden Eagle, *Kine'u*
 { 3. Crow or Raven, *Kä'kaki'u*

Each of these phratries and its subordinate gentes possesses a number of gentile names, both male and female, based on some real or supposed characteristic of the ancestor of the leading gens, which are bestowed as honorary titles on members of their appropriate group, and which must be kept constantly in use. The phratries have likewise their peculiar rites and functions, but these have largely, if not entirely, fallen in desuetude. There are no gens or phratry properties, such as sacred bundles, nor has any gens or phratry any ceremony appro-

priate only to itself. There are traces of an ancient dual division of the phratries into the moieties according to the position of the gens and phratry ancestors in the upper or the nether worlds, but this seems to have been unimportant and purely ceremonial.

THUNDER GENS NAMES

These names, hitherto unrecorded, are supposed to be the titles of the Thunderbirds themselves, by which they are known among the gods. They are used by mortal Indians as personal names in the Thunderer gens. There are, no doubt, more of these titles, but they are forgotten or have fallen into disuse. As given in this list they are supposed to follow the order of importance, and appearance, of their celestial owners. The writer has placed an asterisk before each name borne by an Indian of his acquaintance. As noted above, similar names were apparently once found in all the gentes.

*Mûdjé'kiwis, The eldest brother and leader.
Perhaps derived from the Ojibwa, and

meaning 'Bad or Evil Wind.' Not only used as a clan name, but as the ordinal name of the eldest son, or, in its feminine form, of the eldest daughter in every family. Often used colloquially to mean the firstborn, or the heir, especially in mythology and folklore.

Mä'núseo, 'The Leader,' or 'The Greatest.' Some Indian authorities place this Thunderer before the preceding, but this has no foundation in lore nor usage.

*Wí'skino, 'Bird.' When he appears the rain freezes.

*Wabinimä'kiu, 'White Thunderbird.'

Sawinämä'kiu, 'Red Thunderbird.'

*Kishkinämä'kiu, 'Moderator' (Thunderbird), also known as 'One-half a Thunderer,' and 'Finishes Suddenly.' He comes in black clouds, and the weather then clears.

*Ko'nahá', 'Cyclone.'

Keska'na'kahúm, 'The Tree Breaker.' Snaps off the tree-trunks half-way up.

Mosa'na'sé, 'Terrible or Destructive One.' Also called 'Man-Thunder,' because he is often seen in anthropomorphic form.

We'se'ka'peo, 'The Firm-seated One.' Always looks on while the others storm. Should he ever leave his place and join them, he would destroy the world.

*Wakajonä'pe, 'Crooked Beak.'

*Kewútawa'peo, 'Rolling Eyes.' Generally translated, 'Look Around.'

Inä'mäkiu, 'Thunderbird.'

*Awa'nuhapeo. 'One Seated in Fog.'

Mûko'mias, 'Inventor of Hail.'

*Pêpäkiji'së, 'Little Pot-belly.' Used not only as a Thunderer gens name, but as a nickname applied to the youngest son in every family, regardless of gens.

GOVERNMENT

The office of tribal chief was hereditary in the principal family of the Great Mythical Bear gens, the members of which are the traditional lineal descendants of the Great Bear himself. The head man in each gentile group or phratry had likewise to be a member of the principal gens of his group. Phratry councils, gens councils, and tribal councils were held to decide important questions. The duties of all chiefs were purely civil, the war power being vested in the owners of the war-bundles, who were dependent on their personal dream revelations for office, and whose authority was limited by their reputation and personality. A civil chief was not debarred from being a bundle-owner, and hence a war-leader, should he receive the proper revelations. The war-leaders, together with all men of notable bravery, whose exploits had won them fame, were required to police the

camp. An hereditary officer in one of the Bear gentes was their commander. He wore a special badge of authority, and had charge of the peace-pipe, by virtue of which he prevented blood vengeance in cases of intertribal murder, causing the aggrieved parties to withhold their wrath until the case could be formally tried, and the murderer, if adjudged guilty, bought off or executed.

The warrior police were required to guard the beds of wild rice from premature pickers when the tribe had gathered for the annual harvest, in much the same way that the *Oki'tcita* "soldiers" of the plains regulated the buffalo hunt.

BIRTH AND NAMING CUSTOMS

A woman approaching childbirth withdrew to an outhouse or a small special lodge, and there had her infant, for the blood which attended its arrival was regarded as unclean, as is that lost during the menses. The child, almost as soon as born, was bound on a cradle-board, and holes were made in its moccasins, so that if any spirit

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should coax it to leave its parents and return to the Otherworld, whence it came, it would be obliged to refuse, on the ground that its shoes were too poor to undertake so long a journey.

While ordinal names, derived from the Thunderers, are found among the Menomini, each child is given a personal name, often by some shaman who is paid for this service. These names may be revealed in dreams, or may be titles acquired from the Powers Above. At a later period in life a youth who has done some brave deed in war may have his name changed by consent of the gens or the tribal council, and frequently receives one of the gentile names mentioned in a preceding section.

Children of both sexes were always, and to some extent still are, taught to fast when yet very young, in order to enable them to undergo a rather prolonged ordeal at puberty. The object of the puberty fast is to induce portentous dreams by starvation. Visions of this nature include the blessing of the devotee by some god or important animal, with the gift of certain special per-

sonal, warlike, or supernatural privileges, and prophecy concerning the suppliant's future. Sometimes some taboo is imposed, or orders issued to perform certain rites periodically. Evil or unpropitious dreams may be refused and new revelations sought, but the reappearance of the same vision four times makes it irrevocable.

PUBERTY

A girl undergoing her first menses is obliged to withdraw from society for ten days, and thereafter on each recurrence for several days, or as long as the period demands. For this enforced sojourn she is provided with a small lodge and her own peculiar utensils which no one else may touch. During such periods women are considered highly unclean, and hence are supposed to pollute, injure, and perhaps even destroy any person or medicine with which they may come in contact.

MARRIAGE

Traditionally all marriage customs were derived from the Great Dawn. Love

matches were formerly rare, but young men did a great deal of courting at night, going to the lodge and bed of the girl in the midst of her family. Usually, however, parents selected wives for their sons. If a young man proved acceptable to his prospective parents-in-law, presents were given them by his relatives, and the bride went to the young man's wigwam and dwelt with him. Her parents made gifts in return to the groom's relatives at the end of a year, and these had to be of equal or greater value than those they had originally received. Plurality of wives was once the rule.

Separation was by mutual consent; but in recent times a wife could be given away publicly with a blanket at the Dream Dance. Adultery was cause for divorce, and the woman was sometimes punished by the loss of her nose. The offending man was liable to death at the hands of an aggrieved husband.

The "joking relationship," a formal etiquette, is still maintained between brothers-and sisters-in-law, uncles aunts, and nieces

and nephews. The mother-in-law taboo is also known.

GAMES

Menomini games are often played for the dual purpose of honoring the gods and of curing the sick, amusement being secondary in a number of cases. Such games are the perquisites of important deities, and are held only to gain their good graces. Lacrosse, in particular, is the property of the Thunderers, and is looked upon as mimic warfare. A game can be called only by a man having a Thunderbird as his dream guardian, or who is supposed to be a reincarnated Thunderer himself. In either case, such a person must give the game periodically. Apparently, betting is not indulged in, in connection with this sport, but the giver must fee both sides with gifts of calico or other bright-colored cloth, and must not take part in the play himself, but stay at one side to offer prayers and sacrifices. Shinny, played exclusively by women, belongs to one of the sets of sacred Sky Sisters and is performed under conditions similar to those of lacrosse.

TWO HITHERTO UNRECORDED GAMES

A game played solely for the amusement of children, that they might become tired and more readily fall asleep, was called *kakatcis katamoyan*. A disc was cut out of bark, a foot or more in diameter, and this the little ones were taught to roll before them, like a hoop.

A rough game, which not infrequently developed into a free-for-all fight, was called *hato'wi*, or *ato'wi*. Two sides were chosen by the players; or members of some friendly visiting tribe, such as the Potawatomi, played in opposition to the Menomini. The object of the sport was to show which of the contestants could best keep his temper. First one side and then the other took turns kicking each others' buttocks. With each kick, delivered with all the force which the moccasin-clad foot of the owner could gather, the name of the game was shouted aloud; in fact, whenever a crowd of Indians had gathered to watch or participate in athletic sports, such as bow-shooting, wrestling, racing, or lacrosse, if any one

shouted "*Hato'wi!*" it was customary for the bystanders immediately to begin to play.

A list of Menomini games, all of which are widely diffused throughout the Central Algonkian and Southern Siouan tribes, follows:

Lacrosse	Moccasin
Snow-snake	Kicking game
Prisoners' base	Draw-sticks
Rolling hoops	Foot-racing
Shinny	Bowl-and-dice
Ice game	Cup-and-pin
Throwing sticks	Cat's-cradle
Racing ponies	

SIGN LANGUAGE

A system of signs for blazing forest trails was once in vogue among the Menomini, but has become almost extinct. I have often seen them break over young saplings and bushes, inclining the fallen tops in the direction the party was taking for the benefit of anyone coming behind. The condition of the leaves—fresh, wilted, or dried—helps mark the elapse of time as well. A few signs are made with the hands, apparently the remnant of a once more extensive sign language.

Contempt: Raise right fist to the lips, fingers away from the mouth, throw out first two fingers and bring hand downward and forward with celerity. This gesture may be made with impunity only to joking relatives.

Astonishment: Right fist raised and placed thumb against mouth; for great surprise, the left fist raised in like manner, the thumb against the infolded little finger of the right. It must be understood that both thumbs are folded in.

Horse galloping: Extend right arm horizontally with hand clenched, fingers down, rapidly clench and unclench fist. For several horses both hands are used.

Lightning or gunshot: Back of right hand slapped smartly in palm of left.

I give it to you: Extend right hand, palm downward, raising palm until almost on the same plane as the upright body.

There were once other signs, say the old people, but they are all forgotten. None of the above gestures is confined to the Menomini tribe in its use.

WARFARE

Although a peace-loving tribe, the Menomini were both able and willing to resist invasion and even to carry the fighting into the enemy's country. They drove the Sauk and Fox from their seats on Green bay, and,

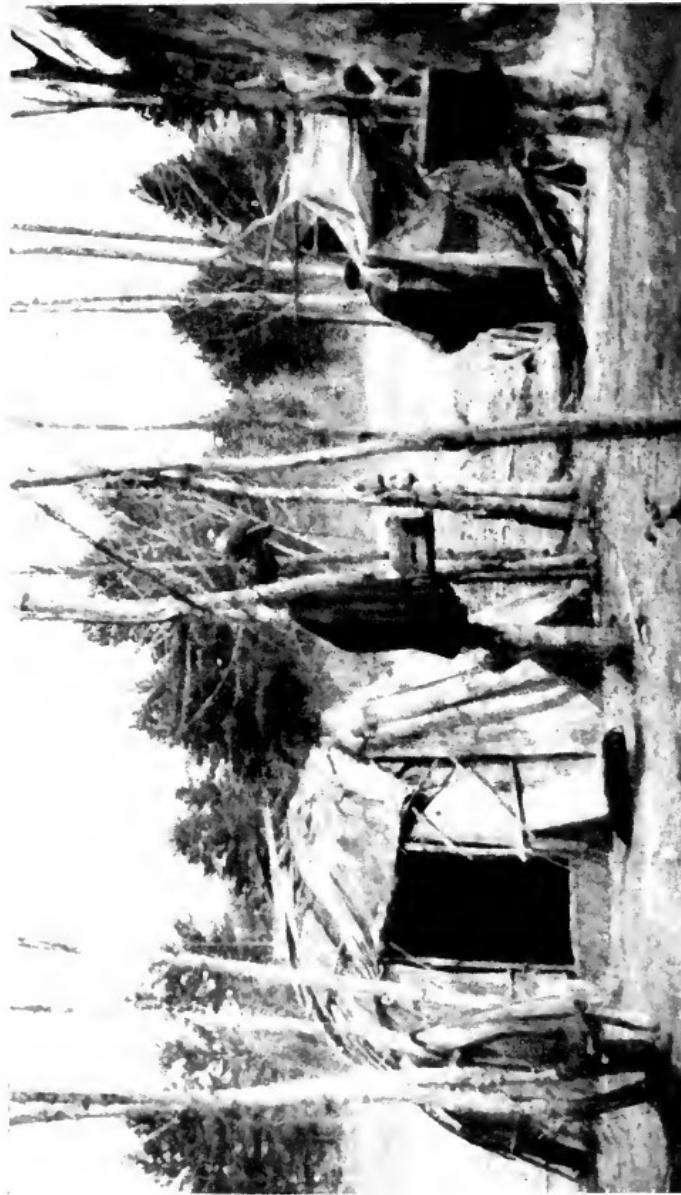
much later, during the Blackhawk war, materially helped the American forces to expel them from the territory east of the Mississippi. They raided the Osage, and, in company with their allies, the Eastern or Santee Dakota, ventured up the Mississippi to attack the Mandan.

All Menomini warfare was conducted through the assistance of the war-bundles, the type example of which was traditionally given the tribe by the Thunderbirds, through the medium of a man named *Wata'kwâna*. The succeeding examples down to the present day have been granted to men and even to women as dream revelations. Semi-annual sacrifices are made to the bundles in the spring and the fall, when a public ceremony with feasting and dancing is held (pl. iv). At this time the bundle-owners are masters of the rites, and are fed by attendants who place the food in their mouths with wooden skewers.

When general war was declared, runners were sent to the various villages of the tribe, bearing tobacco and a string of wampum, painted red, to notify the bundle-owners or



SEMIANNUAL WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY
Photograph by Miss Zora Marble.



ROUND WINTER WIGWAM

partizans to gather their warriors. When for this or any other reason a partizan decided to go to war, he collected his young men, who were volunteers desirous of obtaining fame, and led them out of the village to a secluded spot in the forest. Here a long lodge of boughs was erected, the bundle opened, and its contents displayed. Sacrifices, including a dog feast, were made, and the war dance was performed. The partizan managed these affairs, but did not take part.

The war-party then proceeded, with the partizan in advance carrying the war-bundle, or having it borne for him by his uncle or a nephew. Thus equipped the leader could neither turn back nor deviate from his path, unless his uncle or his nephew came forward, took hold of him, and forcibly changed his course. When scouts had located the enemy's camp, it was approached at night. Before attacking, the partizan again opened the war-bundle, and, with its contents spread out before him, sang the songs belonging to the bundle's ritual, to the accompaniment of a deer-hoof rattle, and

then distributed the sacred contents of his pack among his followers. One, for example, would receive a root medicine to make him invulnerable, when chewed and sprayed over his body. Another was given a similar charm to secure invisibility. Another might accept a snake-skin to give him the serpent's power of stealthy approach. The skin of a swallow rendered the bearer as difficult to hit as is that bird in flight; a miniature warclub gave another the ability to strike with the force of the Thunder. Thus fortified, the men encircled the hostile camp, while the partizan stayed behind singing to stupefy the enemy.

The attack was commenced just before dawn, when vitality was supposed to be at its lowest ebb. Bows and arrows and warclubs were used, but shields were not carried. Scalps were taken back to the partizan, who gave rewards to the successful warriors. The first to kill a foe received a wampum belt. After the attack the warriors turned homeward, taking time, when out of reach of the enemy, to stretch the scalps on hoops. When the lodge of boughs

erected on the outward journey was reached, a victory dance was held, and the names of the victors were announced with the nature of their coups.

Among the Menomini there was no system of war honors. The greatest deed was to slay a foeman, for which feat alone was granted the right to wear an eagle-feather on the head. For this, and perhaps for scalping a foe, the principals were entitled to have their names changed by vote of council composed probably by the chiefs of the gens of the victor. Usually some gens name "vacant" at the time was awarded.

Following the victory dance the warriors danced with the scalps attached to short wands, after which the nearest female relative of each man, preferably his sister, came forward and made him a present "to wash the blood from his hands," and took the scalp, whooping as she received it. The scalps were then the property of the women, who ornamented and kept them as trophies. If a man had no female relative to receive his scalps, they reverted to the war-bundle and were kept therein until the next semi-

annual war-bundle feast, when each was given to some renowned warrior to dance with until his female relatives "washed his hands" and took it from him. Bits of scalps are sometimes found attached to charms contained in the war-bundles, and it is probable that the wisps of hair carefully preserved in these palladia, explained as locks from the heads of former owners, are in many cases really from scalps taken when the bundle was used, having been kept as tokens of its prowess.

SOCIETIES

THE MITÄ'WIN

An idea has already been given of the underlying ritual of the important secret society known as the *Mitä'win*, or Medicine Lodge, which is composed of four graded degrees. Admission is by purchase, often to fill a vacancy caused by death, and the initiation is the dramatization of the origin myth, in which the candidate plays the leading rôle. The chief feature is the pretended slaying and bringing to life of the candidate, which is the symbolic presenta-

tion of the belief that all so initiated will be reincarnated in the Hereafter.

In addition to the ritualistic myths of the society, a mass of official and unofficial lore is acquired from time to time by the initiate after he has joined the body, but always by purchase. This is made up of the songs and the formulae accompanying the herb medicines known to the members, and legendary data concerning the specific gifts of the various animals to Mä''näbus at the time of the founding of the lodge. Incidentally, there occurs in the customs of the lodge one of the few traces of the old tribal dual division previously mentioned, based on the separation of the universe into halves. It is said that formerly members took their positions on one side or the other of the Medicine Dance structure according as to whether the medicine-bags they possessed were made of the skins of animals inhabiting the upper or the lower regions.

MEDICINES AND BUNDLES

Peculiarly the property of the members of the *Mitä'win*, yet known through pur-

chase to many others, is a vast series of medicines, both magical and practical, having for their ingredients roots, herbs, shells, fossils, stones, claws of animals, and the like. Presumably all these had their origin in dream revelations, but many have been handed down from one member of the society to another from time immemorial, and, except as gifts of "our grandmother, the Earth," or of various gods and animals, through the Great Dawn, their origin is forgotten. Medicines and their sacred formulæ, for none are valuable without their particular songs and prayers, can be obtained only by purchase from their owners, but as anyone may buy them, they are known, though in lesser degree, beyond the limits of membership in the *Mitä'win*. Their number has been, and constantly is, augmented by accessions from other tribes.

The gathering of roots and herbs for medicinal use is always attended by placing tobacco in the holes from which they were dug, with a song or a prayer in honor of Earth Grandmother, whose hairs they are. Besides the actual curing of disease, there

are medicines for all manner of purposes, a very incomplete list of which may be given here to show their diversity.

There are at least eighteen different love medicines, or charms for gaining the affections of a member of the opposite sex than that of the user; medicine for keeping married couples faithful; for driving enemies insane; for winning at gambling, racing, etc. A famous good-luck medicine is called *ukemā'was*, which attracts friendship, overpowers enemies, and brings food, wealth, and gifts to the house; witch medicines of many kinds for destroying foes; medicines to thwart sorcerers; for taking game and fish; to guard against snake-bite; and to insure the bearer against injury from the missiles of medicine-bags shot by unknown foes.

Like these medicines, the various sacred bundles are sometimes transferred by purchase, but so far as the writer is aware, this is seldom done. All sacred bundles were originally the fruit of the owner's dream revelation, and could never be passed on to other hands with a complete making-over of the power of the first

dreamer, even though the buyer had also had a bundle dream; for each vision was charged with special instructions which were apt to differ, and the makeup of the bundle was likewise variable within certain limitations. It was customary, however, for people who had not been successful in establishing favorable contact with the gods to go to a bundle-owner and purchase the right to use or to carry certain of the medicines and charms contained therein. Inherited bundles theoretically lost some of their power, although instances are reported in which identical dreams were vouchsafed father and son. It has been observed that this theoretical loss of power credited to the bundles is seldom admitted in actuality. As all bundles were acquired through dreams, and as dreams cannot be controlled successfully, there was no limit set by custom on the number of bundles of any kind to be found in the tribe; but they were never very numerous. They were, as has previously been stated, personal and not clan property.

THE DREAMERS

Next of importance to the *Mitā'win* is the Society of the Dreamers, of which no more than passing mention need be made here, since it has been fully treated under the caption of Religion. It is a modern acquisition.

THE WITCHES' SOCIETY

The belief in witchcraft is deeply rooted among the Menomini, and it is the constant effort of the shamans and the members of the *Mitā'win* to combat their activities. Witches and wizards are persons who, through self-mortification, such as fasting and sacrifices, have obtained the patronage of some one of the Evil Powers, in return for which they are obliged to slay members of their own tribe as votive offerings. They attack and destroy their victims by magically transforming themselves into balls of fire, owls, bears, foxes, turkeys, and other animals, and traveling for great distances at night with remarkable speed. Arrived at the lodge of his prey, the sorcerer discharges enchanted arrows at him, causing

disease, and, if the attacks are repeated, death. Witches are known to have magic bundles, the most notorious of which contain the entire hide of a bear, or the skin of a horned owl, which are worn when assuming the shapes of these animals. With the skins is included a bandoleer, or shoulder pouch, covered with tiny bags holding bad medicines, the worst of which are portions of the body of the terrible Horned Hairy Snake.

The witches are said to be associated in a society having eight members, four using the bear and four the owl, as mediums of murder. Their rites are said to include a disgusting form of cannibalism, for witches are supposed to haunt the graveyards where their victims are buried, and so magically to obtain the heart and lungs of the murdered persons, which they are credited with devouring. Witches also destroy their victims by shooting and stabbing rude effigies of them made on the ground or on birch-bark, or by torturing dolls of grass or wood. They also steal the luck away from hunters, sending their arrows or bullets

astray; they cause children to drown; and practise other nefarious arts.

THE WA'BANO CULT

This is a group of unattached shamans who resemble the Dakotan *Heyoka* in some of their practices, especially with regard to immunity from fire and boiling water, though they do not use "backward speech." They are prophets, and derive their skill from the Morning Star (*Wa'bano*, or *Wa'panana*), or even from the Sun.

THE JE'SAKO CULT

Like the *Wa'bano*, the *Je'sako* form a cult by themselves, but are not associated or united. They are diviners and doctors, and in the curing of the sick commence their work by erecting a small, cylindrical, bark lodge, where they commune with the spirits. The lodge sways from side to side, the wind blows, and voices are heard speaking to the seer, who replies through the medium of the turtle, who acts as interpreter.

The cause of the patient's illness, invariably witchcraft, since disease is unnatural, is made clear to the *Je'sako*. Sometimes he coaxes the soul of a moribund patient, thought to be already well started on the journey to the Land of the Dead, to return and enter a small wooden cylinder where it is imprisoned and delivered to its relatives. These attach the cylinder to the patient's breast for four days, so that the soul may return to his body.

Sometimes the gods inform the *Je'sako* that his client is afflicted by a sorcerer's arrow in the flesh, which he proceeds to extract by sucking through a bone tube. He vomits forth the arrow, displays it to the onlookers, and announces that the cure is made. A sorcerer's arrow when thus brought to light will be found to be a maggot, a fly, a quill, or some other small object. Of course, the doctor is well paid for his diagnosis and cure.

MITÄ'WAPE AND TE'PAPE

These are two minor cults similar to the preceding, differing only in having lesser

powers. They are more numerous than the *Je'sakowâk*, and derive their strength from dreams of the Great Dawn. There is still another class of like physicians called *Tcipinini*, who derive their power from *Na'xpatão*, brother of the Great Dawn and Lord of the Realm of the Dead.

THUNDER CULT

A cult of those who have dreamed of the Thunderers was once organized to worship the Thunderbirds through the medium of a large drum, but as the drum was cracked during a thunderstorm, the cult was abandoned.

BUFFALO DANCE CULT

Twice a year, in spring and fall, those who had dreamed of the bison gave a performance in which the principal participants wore buffalo head-dresses, and imitated this animal. A long tent, like that used in the Medicine Dance, was erected, and a row of wooden bowls filled with vegetal foods appropriate to the patron of the rite was placed down the center. Round these the

performers danced, pawing, bellowing, and eating or drinking without touching their hands to the vessels. At the conclusion the dishes were overturned by each with his head, when a portion of tobacco was found hidden beneath the bowls. This ceremony in honor of the buffalo was often given in order to secure the aid of these beasts in healing the sick. The buffalo are credited with great knowledge of herbs and mystic curative powers.

LIST OF CEREMONIES

Including the ceremonies and dances already described, the following rites have been noted, many now obsolete being marked with an asterisk.

1. Medicine Dance and attendant ceremonies.
2. Dream Dance.
3. War Dance.*
4. Victory Dance.*
5. Scalp Dance.*
6. Semiannual War-Bundle Dance.*
7. Youth's First Game Dance, or, more properly, Feast.*
8. Harvest or Crop Dance.*
9. All Animals' Dance, in honor of the totemic ancestors.*

10. Rain Dance, given to the war-bundles in time of drouth.
11. Dog or Beggar's Dance,* given in the sugar camps in early spring. The dancers wore birch-bark masks, and brave deeds were recited.
12. Tobacco Dance, perhaps a degenerate form of the Calumet of Southern Siouan tribes.*
13. Shawano Dance. Said to have been derived from the Shawnee, and perhaps connected with certain *Mild'win* rites for the dead, for during this dance *Na'xpatão* is besought to allow the spirit of the dead man in whose honor the dance is given to return to earth and participate.
14. Circular Dance. A dance performed by the braves, who count their coups and reënact them.*
15. Woman's Dance. A social dance recently introduced by the Winnebago, and seldom performed.

BEAR CEREMONIES

The Menomini had certain ceremonies which they performed when a bear was slain. A deerskin was offered to the Sun and a feast was given. The bear's skull was prepared and cleaned, and was later hung up in the woods. The bones of the animal were kept away from the dogs. Members of

the Bear totem, at least, always apologized to a bear before slaying it.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

The mythology of the Menomini has been described at length in an earlier portion of this paper, and therefore needs little consideration here. A large body of folklore has been collected by Hoffman and the writer: it is typically Central Algonkian in character, but bears strong resemblance to the Ojibwa of the north. Its affiliations cannot be more definitely placed until more is known of the other Central tribes, especially those of Siouan origin.

While the subject is too extensive for detailed treatment it may be noted that the Menomini themselves divide their folklore and mythology into four classes:

First, the cosmogonic myth and the myths concerning the founding of the *Mitä'win*. These are regarded as highly sacred and secret, and in the case of the *Mitä'win* myths, which deal with the Culture Hero-God, are the exclusive property of the mem-

bers of the society, and can be obtained by new members only at a high price.

Next come the stories of the Culture Hero as Trickster. These are but tales of buffoonery and lust, and are not at all in keeping with the character of the Hero as brought out in the preceding group. They are extravaganzas without sacred meaning. Their separation in the native category is added reason for supposing that these form part of a cycle the hero of which was the real Great Hare, and a personage distinct from the primal Hero-God with whom he has been confounded by reason of names of similar sound. The trickster stories are much more widely diffused than are the sacred myths among other tribes.

The third class is composed of weird and marvelous yarns dealing with the exploits of heroes and wizards, super-animals, cannibals, living skulls, and animated forces. Magic is their keynote. These correspond with our fairy tales, and show the Algonkians to have a lively and colorful imagination, not inferior to that of Celtic story-tellers.

Lastly is a group called by the Indians

"true stories," a designation which is by no means accurate, since they overlap with those of the preceding category. These are principally brief narrations of love, war, ghosts, adventure, witchcraft, and supernatural experiences.

A fifth class, not recognized by the natives, may be added. It is possible to segregate a small group of stories of European derivation by reason of certain entirely foreign properties and motives. The influence of these on the rest of the groups has been negligible.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS

When a death occurs, the corpse of the deceased is arrayed in its finery, its face painted, and the guests assembled for the wake. This now lasts two days and two nights, but is said to have ended formerly the same day at sunset. The first evening the presiding officers enter the house and sing the death-songs to the swish of the gourd-rattle, and this is repeated the following night. The next day the corpse is redressed in its second-best clothes and

is laid out in state in the lodge, with calico, tobacco, and other gifts, which are placed near its head. After certain rites the body is carried out of doors through a hole made in the rear of the wigwam or through a window, if the funeral is being held in a house. This is done in order to confuse the ghost, so that it cannot follow the party which carries the corpse to the grave. When the funeral procession reaches the cemetery, the body is laid on the ground, and a feast of the dead, at which all the food must be consumed, is held. At the end of this rite a ceremonial smoke is given for the deceased, and the body is placed beside the grave. The chief mourner now comes forward with a package composed of a new suit of clothes, in the center of which is placed a lock of hair cut from the dead person by one of the attendants. This bundle is carried home and kept in the house for at least a year after the obsequies. The bundle receives offerings of food and tobacco from time to time, and is spoken of as if it were the deceased, still alive.

The body having been lowered in the grave, the next of kin steps over it and runs home by a roundabout way, so that the ghost may not follow. Formerly a quantity of food, utensils, and weapons were placed in the grave for the use of the soul on the journey to the Otherworld, but this is no longer done. The grave is now filled and a short stake is erected at the head. Warriors are called on to count their coups and to appoint the souls of foes whom they have slain, and over which they are supposed to have control, to accompany and assist the soul of the deceased to the Otherworld. These men now step forward and recite their exploits. For each coup counted, and at least four are necessary, an attendant marks a horizontal line or an X on the grave-post with vermillion. A stick with four bunches of shavings fringing it at intervals is also prepared. The totem animal of the departed is painted on the post, inverted, or with head down, to show that it is dead. Somewhat later a long, low house of boards with a ridged roof is erected over the grave with a little door at one end to

permit the ghost, which is supposed to linger about the cemetery, to leave and enter.

For members of the *Mitä'win* a ceremony is held one year later, often at the grave, when the soul of the dead person is called back to earth and feasted, and then released to return and live forever in the Hereafter. In the rites as performed at the cemetery the Medicine Dance structure is erected at the spot (pl. I) in reverse orientation from that usually employed, and the soul of the deceased, temporarily reincarnated in a new candidate for membership in the society, is conducted to the grave at the end of the ceremony, faced to the west, and dismissed to return alone to the Realm of Na'spatäo. After certain other rites (pl. III) the company returns to the lodge with rejoicing and promiscuous shooting with their medicine-bags.

MOURNING

Immediately after a death the mourners blacken their faces, put on old clothes, and allow their hair to hang disheveled. They

lacerate the fleshy parts of their bodies with flints. In former times a widow or a widower was required to mourn for four years. A man was unclean for the space of a year and could not handle weapons or medicines. A widow's mourning was ended by her husband's relatives, to whom she brought presents. They combed her hair and told her she was free. Violation of the mourning rules was punishable by cutting off the nose, the same penalty as was exacted for adultery.

II. HOUSING

ORIGIN OF THE MENOMINI TYPES



HEN FIRST encountered by the French, the Menomini Indians resided on the west shore of Green bay, Lake Michigan, from the mouth of the Menominee river southward to the mouth of the Fox. This early country is low-lying and damp, for the greater part, except for the elevated sand dunes which border the shores of Green bay. The upland through which the rivers flow is also dry and sandy, and on the shifting dunes the Indians pitched their wigwams. The traces of their prehistoric and, later, historic settlements, may still be observed at Big and Little Suamico, Pensaukee, and on the Oconto, Peshtigo, and Menominee, in particular. These sites have been described in detail by Fox, Schumacher, and Younger, of the Wisconsin Archeological Society.³

The Green bay shore, where some of the oldest Indians now living were born and spent the early years of their lives, was the summer home of the greater portion of the tribe. When winter winds began to blow, they temporarily abandoned their fisheries, ceased their quasi-maritime life, and withdrew inland up the various streams. Here they found shelter from the bitter blasts in the forests and the protected river bottoms. Some scattered families even penetrated to the upper waters of the Wolf on the present reservation, and may have been the makers of the mounds and pits still to be seen there. When the breaking of the ice in the spring freed the rivers for travel, they abandoned hunting and trapping to paddle down to the coast once more.

Owing to the diversity of their country and of its living conditions, the Menomini had at their disposal a variety of materials adaptable for shelter, and it is therefore not surprising that a number of types of houses were developed by the tribe. Two, however, were in ordinary daily service, and these were, and indeed to a certain extent

are, the quadrangular house of bark for summer, and the semi-globular or dome-shaped lodge for winter use. Both types are familiar to students as forms found widely diffused among the Algonkian tribes of forested North America.

THE WINTER LODGE

The semi-globular house, covered with mats or with bark, was the more widely distributed form of the two, and may be considered as the Algonkian lodge *par excellence*. It has been noted among the tribes of New England, at least among those of Massachusetts and of Connecticut, for the Abenaki and others to the north seem to have preferred the conical type. The round or semi-globular wigwam was utilized by the tribes of Long Island and coastal New York, but not by the Iroquois. It was in vogue among the Delawares, and all the Central Algonkians, and was common among many tribes as far south as the borders of the Muskhogeon or Gulf culture. On the north it is still to be seen, occasionally, at least,

among the Ojibwa and the Eastern Cree, even on the shores of Hudson bay. Northward, however, as one approaches the Arctic, the conical lodge largely supplants this type. In all this wide sweep of territory variations appear principally in ground-plan (that of the southern reaches inclining to be oval rather than circular), and in roofing material. Along the Atlantic coast, sedge-grass and cornhusks were used, as well as the ordinary elm- or cedar-bark and cattail mats. In the north birch-bark was favored.

All of the Southern Siouan tribes, and with them may be included the Eastern or Santee division of the Dakota, and the Winnebago, were given to the use of this semi-globular structure, but, like the Algonkians, the more southerly representatives of the group preferred lodges of oval outline.

THE SUMMER HOUSE

The summer house of bark, with quadrangular ground-plan, but varying as to the shape of the roof, which was either arched or triangular in cross-section, was almost

as widely distributed as the semi-globular lodge, being found among the Iroquois of New York and Canada, as well as among the Algonkians. The various tribes using these types of lodges did not always observe the seasonal changes nor move from one form of dwelling to the other.

THE LONG-HOUSE

The long-house, favored by the Iroquois and their Algonkian vassals in the East as a place of dwelling, survives among the Menomini and other Central Algonkian and Southern Siouan tribes as a ceremonial structure devoted principally to the rites of the Medicine Dance, and, to a lesser extent, to other sacred performances. It too may be an ancient pan-Algonkian survival, as it seems to have been widely distributed among the peoples of this stock at the time of the first colonists. Among the Iroquois it is no longer used as a habitation, but the Five Nations still build their council and ceremonial structures in the shape of the long-house, and apply this name to them.

Among the Menomini the writer has seen and entered bark houses of both semi-globular and ridged types, and has even assisted in erecting one of the long ceremonial structures designed for the Medicine Dance, as recently as the spring and summer of 1920. Of course, log and frame houses are now occupied by the majority of the Indians, and the wigwam as a dwelling-place will soon be a thing of the past.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE THE WINTER LODGE

In building a round winter lodge or wigwam (pl. v), about sixteen saplings, each eighteen feet in length and about one and one-half inches in diameter at the butt, are selected and cut. Four of these poles are set upright in the ground so as to form a rectangle three or four feet broad by twelve or fifteen feet long, the latter dimension being intended for the breadth of the house. When these "doorposts" have been erected, the women (for generally two at least are required to build a wigwam of this char-

acter), bend the poles toward the center of the long sides of the rectangle, and lash them together with basswood-bark. To accomplish this, one of the women takes her pack-strap and throws it over the upper end of a pole and bends it down to where she can reach it. She then holds it fast, while the other pulls down the opposite pole. These doorposts having been connected, the other poles are set up and arched over them transversely, and all are bound together in the same way. A mat is laid on the floor, in the center, to mark the fireplace. The door usually faces the south, in order to catch the sunlight, and to be protected from wind and rain.

When this has been done, a double roof-mat of cattail-flags is taken and its width measured around the side of the lodge, from the bottom of the frame upward, starting at the outside of one of the doorposts, and working around to the other. Guided by this gauge a horizontal ring of saplings is bound around the framework from doorpost to doorpost, about three to four feet from the ground, corresponding to roof

purlins in our houses. Then the operation is repeated, starting above this ring and allowing a few inches less than the width of the mat, so that when the coverings are tied on, each successive mat will overlap the one below, and thus shed water. About six mats are needed for the average wigwam.

The framework of the lodge having been completed, the mats are tied on the cross-pieces with raw basswoods tring. A rectangular hole about two and one-half feet square is left open in the roof directly above the fireplace for the egress of smoke. A small rush mat or a piece of elm-bark is fastened to one side of the aperture, so that it can readily be drawn over the hole in case of rain. A mat or an old blanket, weighted at the bottom, serves as a door. Except for its shape, the long-lodge used to house the ceremonies of the Medicine Society is built in the same manner.

Sometimes birch- or cedar-bark is used to cover a round winter lodge. The bark is cut in suitable sizes by reaching up the bole of a tree as far as possible, and girdling it with an axe or a hoe. Then it is again

girdled by a serrated cut made near the ground, and the two cuts connected by a perpendicular gash. The bark is then pulled off in a sheet and flattened by being weighted down with stones until ready for use. Sometimes, but rarely, elm-bark, prepared in the same manner, is used for covering a lodge.

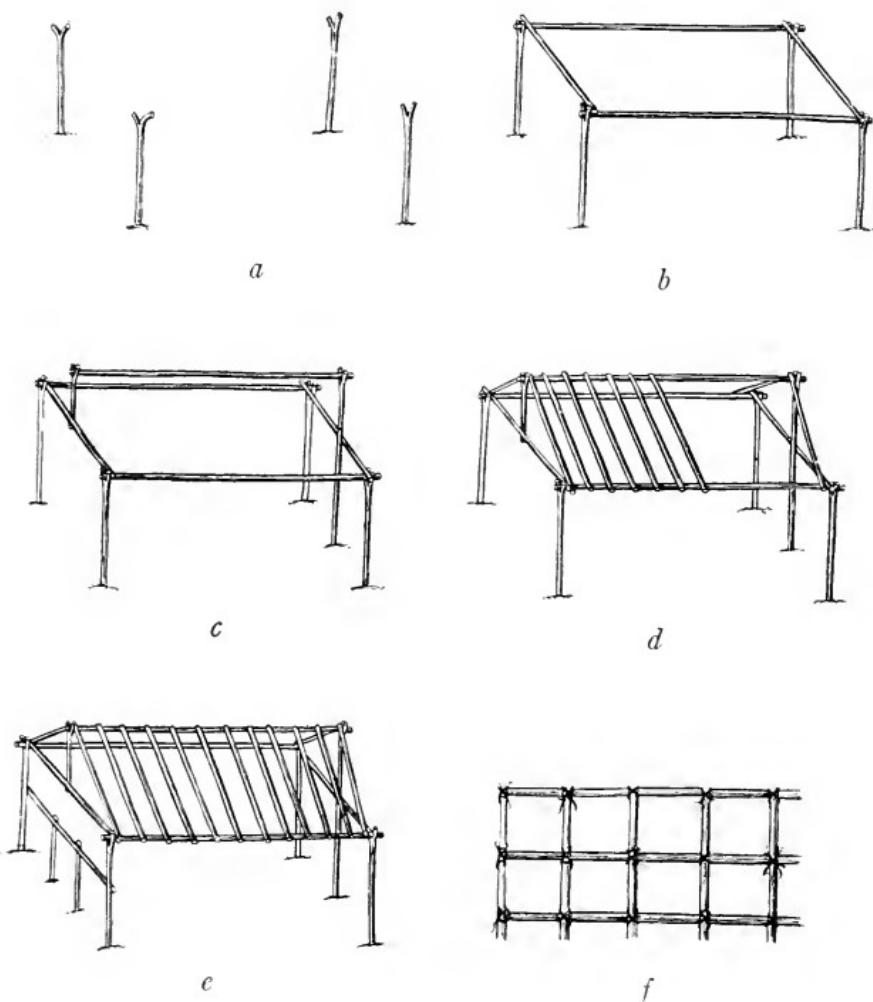
Around the inside of the lodge, from doorpost to doorpost, a couch or bench is built. Crotched stakes are driven into the ground at intervals, two or more feet out from the wall, and other poles are laid in the crotches, which are two to two and one-half feet above the floor, to form an inner circle. Over these is laid a coarse grill of smaller sticks, and this in turn is covered with boughs of balsam or of other evergreens. On these is placed bedding composed of blankets or bearskins. The inner wall is often lined with reed mats woven in various esthetic designs and gaily colored.

Miscellaneous objects are stored under the wall-couch, or are hung from poles suspended overhead on wooden hooks. Shelves are often built above the couches,

stakes to support them being erected from the floor.

The fire is built in the center of the wigwam, under the smoke-hole. An upright frame of two crotched poles, a yard or less high, supporting a third horizontal bar, is constructed on which to swing the kettle over the fire, or a tripod of poles serves the same purpose.

The place of honor is in the rear of the lodge, behind the fire and opposite the door. This is the place accorded to guests. The family medicine-bundles or other sacred objects, if kept in the house, are stored here near the sleeping place of the master of the lodge, or are hung from the ceiling above his head. Special outhouses are not built by the Menomini to contain these treasures, but almost always the man of the family has a sacred pole, ten to twenty feet high, close by, usually in front of the wigwam. Surmounting this pole is a rude flag, or a representation of some object of importance to the owner, such as his dream-guardian, or a symbol referring to it, carved in wood. These poles are frequently



DETAILS OF CONSTRUCTION OF THE SQUARE HOUSE

a, Four upright crotched saplings; b, Connecting poles fastened in the crotches; c, Crotched uprights supporting ridgepole; d, Rafters lashed from ridgepole to connecting poles; e, Horizontal pole forming lintel; f, Framework for walls.



SQUARE BARK HOUSE

painted red, and sometimes on festal occasions are hung with feathers or other objects of adornment. From time to time when the weather is fair, the sacred bundles are hung on them to air, but a shorter, special post may be used for this purpose (pl. xi).

A small, dome-shaped lodge, scarcely large enough to accommodate one person, is erected not far from each house. Such lodges are used exclusively by women during their menses, when it is taboo for them to enter the wigwam or to touch any of the cooking utensils, weapons, or especially the medicines belonging to the family. Men who have any particular charms or supernatural powers are held to be in danger of death if they so much as come in contact with a woman at this time, and even ordinary warriors are liable to grave disaster.

THE SUMMER HOUSE OF BARK

The quadrangular summer house of bark with ridged roof is built as follows: Poles are cut and peeled, and four upright

crotched saplings are set in the corners of a rectangle about fifteen to twenty-five feet long, by ten to twelve feet broad, as shown in pl. vi, *a*. Next, four horizontal connecting poles are laid in, or fastened close to, the crotches (*b*). A short, crotched upright is lashed at its butt to the center of each cross-beam at each end of the framework, its apex being from seven to eight feet from the ground. The ridge-pole is then laid longitudinally in the crotches, and tied fast with basswood-bark. Not infrequently the forked upright at the rear is run into the ground, since there is no door at this end to be allowed for (*c*). Next, poles to serve as rafters (*d*) are lashed from the ridgepole to the longitudinal side beams. A pole bound horizontally across the front of the frame, at a height of about four or five feet, forms a lintel (*e*). Along the four sides, vertical poles are then set up, extending from the ground to the upper longitudinal beams, and securely tied in place. At intervals of about a yard apart, horizontal poles are bound to these from end to end (*f*).



INTERIOR OF SO' MAN JIM'S BARK HOUSE



SECOND VIEW OF INTERIOR OF SO'MAN JIM'S HOUSE

The whole structure is next covered with overlapping sheets of elm- or cedar-bark, except for an opening about a yard long by two feet broad left in the apex of the roof for the escape of smoke. Here a movable sheet of bark is attached, to be drawn over the hole in case of rain. The coverings of the lodge are rectangular pieces of bark about three by six feet, flattened, seasoned, and perforated at the corners for attachment to the framework with basswood strings. They are placed along the sides of the building with the grain of the bark running horizontally, but on the roof with the grain running vertically, as the bark grows on the tree. Each piece is tied to the frame in such a way that the lashing is protected by the overlapping of the succeeding piece, and the under edge of each is deeply serrated, as noted in describing the process of peeling it from the tree. This is perhaps done to prevent splitting. Sometimes logs are tied down over the roofing to keep the bark from warping or from blowing away (pl. VII).

Both types of lodge are rain-proof, but

the quadrangular form is too open and airy for comfort in winter. The round lodge, however, is comfortably warm in the coldest weather. In pls. VIII and IX may be seen interior views of one of the best-made bark houses it has ever been the writer's privilege to enter, that of *So'man* (Grape) Jim, or "Wild Jim Crow," in the hardwood forest west of Neopit, Wisconsin, on the Menomini reservation. The details of the construction of the sleeping platforms, the cracks in the bark, and the camp impedimenta of reed mats, splint baskets, the baby's cradle-board and the like, are visible. The exterior of the same building is shown in pl. VII and X.

'*So'man* Jim was a *Wa'bano* by profession, and did not belong to either the *Mitä'win* or the "Dream Dance." He lived in seclusion, and was almost as uncompromisingly distant to other Indians as he was to the whites. These pictures were therefore secured by stealth. He died a few years ago when away from home at Neopit, and having no ties with the fraternal secret order of the *Mitä'win*, which is scrupulous

about conducting the funeral services of the cult for the dead, he was deposited without ceremony in an unhallowed grave adjoining the local Christian cemetery, where a beer bottle marked the spot when last seen by the writer in 1920. His bark lodge, robbed mysteriously of his sacred bundles and medicines, has fallen to pieces.

Another good house of this type, in the same region, was owned by the father of Kime'wün Oke'mas, whose portrait will be found in the section devoted to Menomini dress (pl. XVI). This lodge was also abandoned on the death of its owner, but he being a member of the *Mitä'win*, as well as of the *Wa'bano* and the *Je'sako*, was properly cared for after his demise. In the shelter of this building, the writer, guided by the dead man's son, one of the few Menomini converts to the "Peyote religion," found the war-bundle and the *Je'sako* outfit of the former owner, and purchased them for this Museum. Outside, close to the wall, stood a wooden statue, nearly lifesize, of the war god *Wa'*-

bano (Morning Star) in human guise, which also became a part of our collection.

In pl. x is shown another view of So'man Jim's lodge and outbuilding or arbor, and his garden of native beans and squashes. The cornfield is farther away. Pl. xi shows a stake outside the lodge whereon are exposed to the revivifying rays of the sun his war-bundle, gourd-rattles, eagle-feather fan, and *Wa'bano* drum.

A couch is built in the quadrangular house, like that already described in the semi-globular lodge. It is two feet high, by the same breadth, or thereabouts, running all along the interior of the walls, and is covered with cedar-bark, and, if available, with boughs of balsam and with skins. The usual poles are suspended from the rafters on which to hang various objects. The fireplace is built in the center of the floor under the smoke-hole. There are no windows, the smoke-hole and the fire serving to light the interior. A mat or an old blanket usually forms the door, but sometimes a piece of bark is substituted.

Sun-shades or arbors of boughs or of



SO'MAN JIM'S HOUSE AND GARDEN



SO'MAN JIM'S WAR-BUNDLES HUNG ON THE SACRED POLE

bark (pl. x) like those in use by the other Central Algonkian and Southern Siouan tribes, were often set up in front of the lodge, and cooking was sometimes done under similar shelters: The conical tipis now occasionally seen among the Menomini are very recent imitations of Plains types. Small temporary summer sun-shades or lodges, as described by Hoffman, were formerly made; they were either ridged or semi-cylindrical in shape, covered with bark or with mats, and barely large enough to shelter one man. Little, low-ridged huts of planks are set up over graves (pl. I, III) to accommodate the spirits of the dead.

THE LONG-HOUSE

In olden times, bark houses are said to have been made much longer and larger than they are now, to serve as communal dwellings. It is still remembered that where two families lived in the same wigwam, there was a door at each end. No partitions were made, but the house was divided by imaginary boundaries into four quarters or sections, and it was considered

bad taste to overstep these limits, although it was no such breach of etiquette as among some of the northern bands of the Ojibwa that have been visited by the writer. The long-house (pl. XII) now survives only as a ceremonial structure, used for the rites of the Medicine Dance in particular. It is rectangular in ground-plan, and about fifty or sixty feet long by ten to fifteen feet wide; it has an arched roof about eight feet high. The frame (pl. XIII) is made of peeled poles arched over like those in an ordinary round wigwam. This frame is kept standing permanently, and boughs, mats, or, as is more common nowadays, canvas coverings, are brought to roof the structure when it is to be used.

THE FIREPLACE

Every lodge has its fireplace. When indoors, it is always placed in the center of the wigwam, directly under the smoke aperture in the roof. In order to prevent flying sparks from setting fire to the house, an ever-present danger when the roofing of bark or of mats is dry, a round, basin-

like pit is often dug in the floor to contain the fire. These holes, as observed by the writer, are about two and one-half to three feet in diameter, and six inches to a foot in depth. Sometimes stones are placed in them to act as supports for kettles. In some cases the fireplace is built up above the surface of the ground with small boulders. This is more commonly done when the fire is made outside, in warm weather, or when the camp is a temporary one. When thus built outside the wigwam the fire was often placed under a small shelter or arbor to protect its users from the weather. In lodges in which no fireplace is dug, the reader should understand that the fire is made on the bare earth, with the occasional addition of several good-sized stones as supports for kettles. Both the raised and the sunken types of fireplace, often filled with ashes, bones, and broken or discarded utensils, are common on archeological sites all over eastern United States, and are found in many of the ancient Menomini villages. But it should be noted that the remains of deep pits which dot

their old encampments are more likely to prove to be caches for wild rice or corn, or holes dug to bury offensive rubbish.

Kettles are generally swung by a wooden pot-hook (fig. 1) from a wooden cross-bar elevated over the fire by means of two crotched uprights, about a yard in height. The pot-hook here shown is 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long.

Grills for smoking fish and drying meat formerly were made as follows: Four crotched sticks, a little over a yard long, were set upright in the ground to form the corners of a square or an oblong, in the center of which was the fireplace. The four corner posts were connected by bars on each side, and across these bars were laid

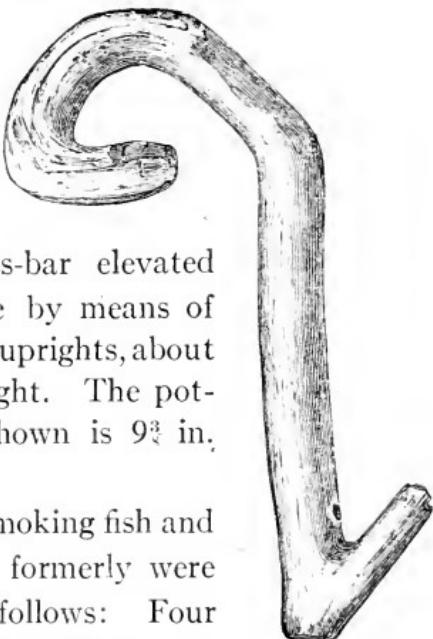
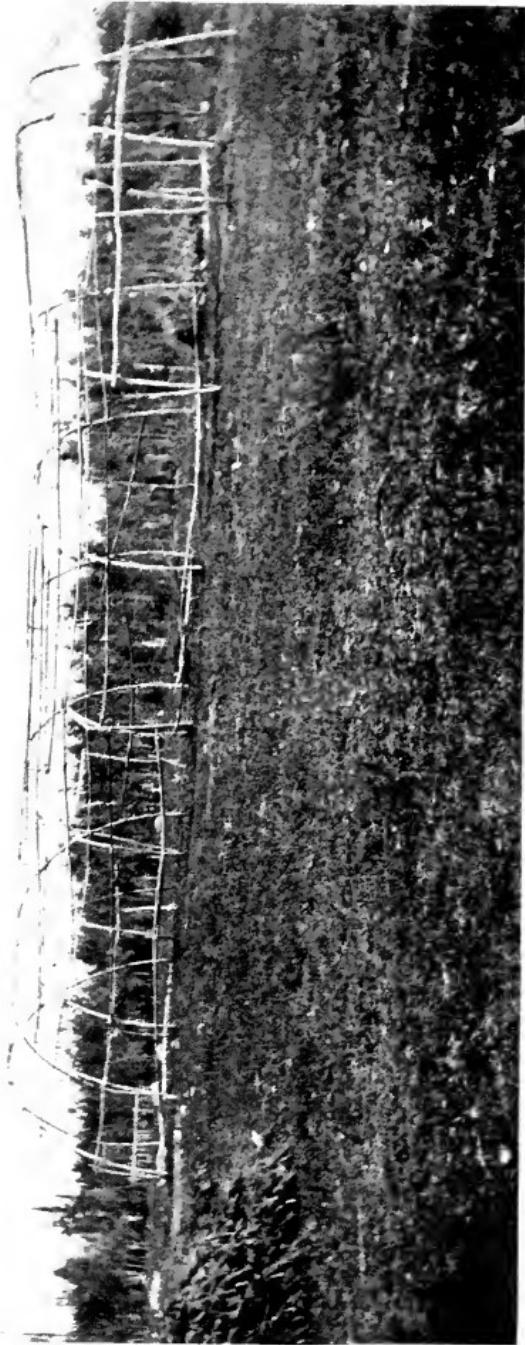


FIG. 1.—Wooden pot-hook. (Extreme length, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)



THE LONG MEDICINE LODGE
Photograph by Miss Zora Marble



FRAMEWORK OF THE LONG LODGE

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

lengthwise a number of short poles or sticks, on which, in turn, were placed a series of lighter cross-pieces.

FURTHER DETAILS OF CONSTRUCTION

Some further details concerning the use and construction of native houses by the Menomini may be of interest. All dwellings are generally constructed by members of one family, their relatively small size making it unnecessary to call for assistance; in fact, ordinary lodges can be built by one or two persons. In the case of the long-house used for ceremonies, more help is required, and it is customary for many Indians to gather and hold a "building bee."

In building a round house for winter, or a long ceremonial lodge, no scaffolding was needed, as the roof was so low that the workers could easily reach it with their hands. In the square habitation for summer, which was a trifle higher, the workers built a sufficient number of the lower cross-pieces first, to serve as a scaffold.

The raw basswood-bark used for lashing was applied when freshly stripped from the

tree. In drying, this hardened and shrank, somewhat as the rawhide used by the Prairie tribes does, making a firm grip.

For the durability of native lodges no data are available. The framework lasts many years with occasional partial renewals. It was customary to leave this skeleton standing until the time when the house might be needed again, perhaps the following year. In the forest country it was not necessary to transport poles, as new ones could be obtained almost anywhere it might be decided to set up a temporary camp. Winter lodges could thus be razed or erected in a very short time; indeed the writer has seen Indian women set up such a house in half an hour, not allowing for the time required to select and cut the poles. At most, two or three hours is the limit under unfavorable conditions. As for the summer houses, I have never seen one erected, but as these were more permanent structures than the round winter type, in the sense that they stood all the year round and were inhabited periodically, more time, perhaps a day or two, was

required in their construction. When the Indians departed from their summer camps, these quadrangular structures were left intact, because the bark was too bulky to carry, and more could easily be obtained, should they decide not to return. But the cattail mats used for winter lodges, valuable on account of the large amount of labor put into their manufacture, and the relative scarcity of reeds in the dense parts of the pine forests, were stored in a dry place when not in use.

SITUATION OF THE HOUSE

In former times the Menomini did not live scattered in the forest, often miles from one another, as they do now. In those days the danger of attack by lurking foes from other tribes made concentration imperative, and large villages were frequent. This is borne out by conditions noted at their ancient sites on Green bay. Tradition and archeological evidence both show that the lodges were pitched close together, but without formal order. This irregular grouping seems to have been

usual among the forest tribes, in contradistinction to those of the prairie, who took pains to form their camps in great circles, wherein the several bands often had their fixed quarters. However, the Menomini elders claim that the members of each of the gentes were similarly segregated in their ancient villages.

Wigwams were not erected near trees that might fall and crush them, nor where heavy branches, torn off in a storm, might break in the roof. No toilet facilities were provided in the villages, the privacy of the encircling forest sufficing. It was often necessary to move a village when the fire-wood in the vicinity had been consumed.

Nowadays the Menomini are less careful in the situation of their houses than formerly. In olden times a warm, sunny knoll, preferably of sand, was chosen. Even at present an effort is made to locate the house on dry, high ground. Now as then, drinking water, preferably an ever-flowing spring, must be close at hand.

VOCABULARY

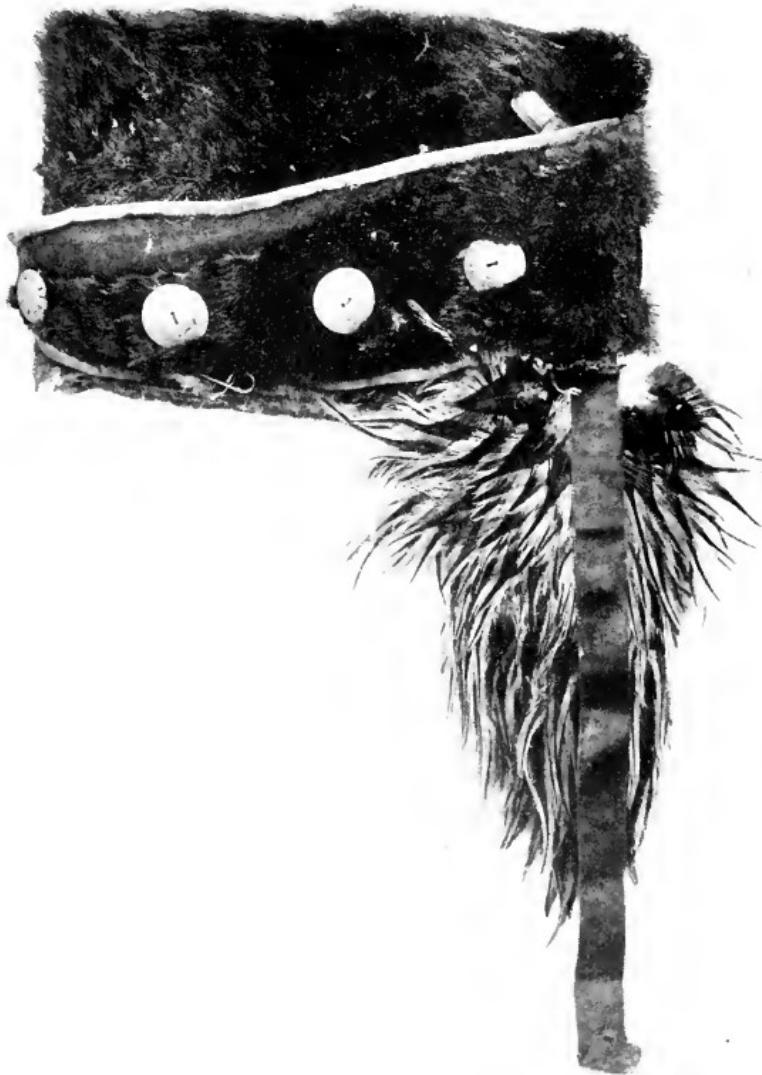
- waki'nikon*, round, or semi-globular winter lodge.
upa'skiwika'n, round, or semi-globular winter
lodge made of cattail mats (*u'pa*kiuk*);
hence its popular name, *u'pa*ki*, literally,
'a cattail.'
- anäkaki'lumik*, square, summer lodge of bark.
kesäünükakiku'mik, cedar-bark lodge.
ünepünükä, elm-bark lodge.
wiko'pême anäki'kumik, basswood-bark lodge.
wi'kisikamik, birch-bark lodge.
miüsékü'kawä wi'kiwam, young hemlock-bark
house.
- asekani'kamik*, prairie-grass lodge.
pokana's wi'komik, sedge-grass house.
*akwu'*won*, temporary shelter of mats hung over
a cross-bar, and pegged out on the sides.
säta'k'wi'komik, a lodge of cedar- or spruce-
boughs, so thickly thatched that they shed
water.
- apasiu'komik*, a round lodge built of logs. A
temporary structure used for camps.
- kino'*tam*, a long lodge, shaped like a medicine-
dance structure, with an arched or rounded
roof. Formerly used as a communal resi-
dence.
- wa'nékan*, or *wanékütä'o*, semi-subterranean house
dug into a hillside.
- asepä'wi'kiom*, a rock house. My informants
explained this term by stating that in for-
mer years, before they were confined to
their present reservation, they sometimes
lived or camped under overhanging ledges,
or in the mouths of caves where it was light

- and airy. In other words, they used rock-shelters.
- mē'tik ikāmik*, wooden house, log cabin.
- iskwū'*temūposi*, doorpost.
- upa'siūk*, lodge posts.
- pimeta'pase*, a sapling used as a withe or ring around the frame of a winter lodge.
- ana'kianūk*, beams or joists, in a log cabin.
- nawisku'tiu*, or *pota'wagún*, fireplace.
- ta'nahu'an*, a couch built around the inner wall of the wigwam.
- anago'tiu*, the place of honor in the rear of the lodge opposite the door, always reserved for the master of the house and for distinguished guests.
- tasipina'gūn*, a meat-drying scaffold made of bark and tied to its supporting posts with basswood-bark strings.
- akotcewa'han*, a platform in or outside the lodge, used to receive such loads, borne into camp on the backs of the Indians, as were not allowed to touch the ground for ceremonial or sanitary reasons. Also for drying purposes.
- piyatakanatik*, a post outside the lodge to which tobacco sacrifices are attached and sacred articles are tied to sun.
- mitā'mu oska'pasamawikomik*, or *mitā'mu okwātc ospo'towat* ('woman out-doors fire-making,' or 'at fire'), two names for the small hut to which women withdraw during their menses.
- pita'wikon*, sweat-lodge.
- mo'nahigan*, garden.



OTTER-FUR FILLET ORNAMENTED WITH MEDALLIONS OF
BEADWORK

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



OTTER-FUR FILLET MADE OF THE ENTIRE SKIN
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

III. DRESS

AT THE present time the Menomini no longer wear native dress habitually, but preserve these costumes for ceremonial or gala use. Moreover, cloth has been accessible to them for so many years that information concerning the leather garments which they formerly used is difficult to obtain, although some of the elder Indians still remember when clothing of deerskin was commonly worn.

MEN'S ATTIRE

HEAD-DRESSES

Three general types of men's head-dresses have been observed by the writer; these are head-bands of fur, sashes woven of yarn used as turbans, and the dyed deer's hair roach.

Of the first class the most valued variety is a fillet of dark otter-fur. Not only does

it present a handsome appearance, but the connection of the otter with the sacred rites and original myth of the Medicine Dance society, and its own supposed supernatural powers, influence the natives in their preference. If the wearer be a warrior these fillets are often ornamented, as is shown in pl. XIV, with rosettes or medallions of beads, and eagle-plumes. Or, if he be a member of the Medicine Dance, bunches of dyed, split, hawk-feathers containing charms are set vertically on one side of the head-dress. Sometimes, indeed, the whole skin of an otter is used (pls. XV, XVI, XXX), the head being bent around and thrust in the vent, the tail forming a flapping ornament on one side. The bare under-surface of the tail is often further enhanced by decorations in appliqué of ribbon or of beads. This type of head-dress is by no means common as compared with the fillet first described.

The fillet form is sometimes decorated with the tail of the otter sewed on the rear as a pendant, or with streamers of twisted fur at side and back. In addition to otter-



MEN IN DANCE COSTUMES, WEARING FUR TURBANS



JOE MOON IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME

skin, other furs are sometimes used, but generally for some special purpose. Fillets of wolf-skin are found in several of the more important hunting-bundles. These are donned for the purpose of giving the wearer the tireless persistency and keen tracking powers of that animal. Headbands of shaggy buffalo-skin were formerly worn to battle, the wearer feeling secure in the possession of a bison's strength and courage. For the Buffalo Dance, like head-gear was donned, and the leader of that important rite wore a cap made of the major portion of the skin of a buffalo's head with horns attached.

A common form of head-covering is a yarn sash or belt twisted around the brow, with the addition of the customary feather ornaments.

The roach or crest made of dyed deer's hair (pl. xviii), or sometimes of the coarse tufts from the neck of a turkey or the back of a porcupine, is worn, though sparingly, among the Menomini. According to their ideas, it lacks the dignity of the otter-fur band. The roach is attached to the back

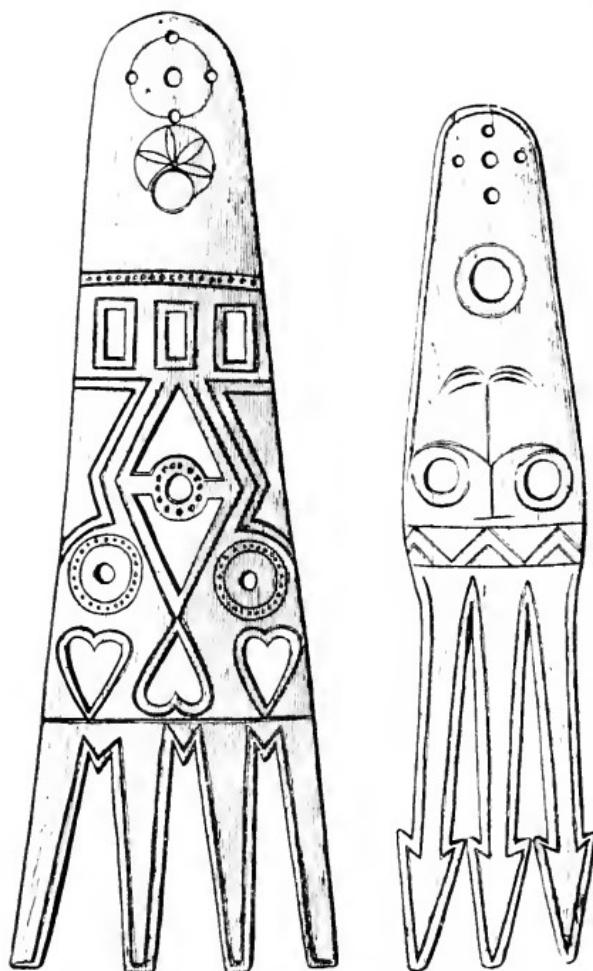


FIG. 2.—Roach spreaders of antler. (Height of *a*, 8 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

of the head by drawing the scalp-lock through a hole made in the broad part of its base for this purpose. A little wooden peg thrust crosswise through the hair above the hole prevents it from slipping off. A carved spreader of bone or of antler (fig. 2), or a similar object made of engraved German silver, is used to expand the hair of the roach, and sometimes supports an eagle-feather by means of an attached bone tube used as a swivel. The roaches are usually kept rolled on a stick in a carved wooden box, when not in use. The roach spreaders here figured are in the American Museum of Natural History, and measure respectively $8\frac{7}{16}$ in. and $7\frac{11}{16}$ in. in height.

SHIRTS

Men's shirts were formerly made of tanned deerskin, often dyed brown with butternut juice. They were gaily ornamented with the colored quills of the porcupine, or sometimes those used in war had an image of the sun painted on the back. None of these garments have survived, although the costume worn by the famous

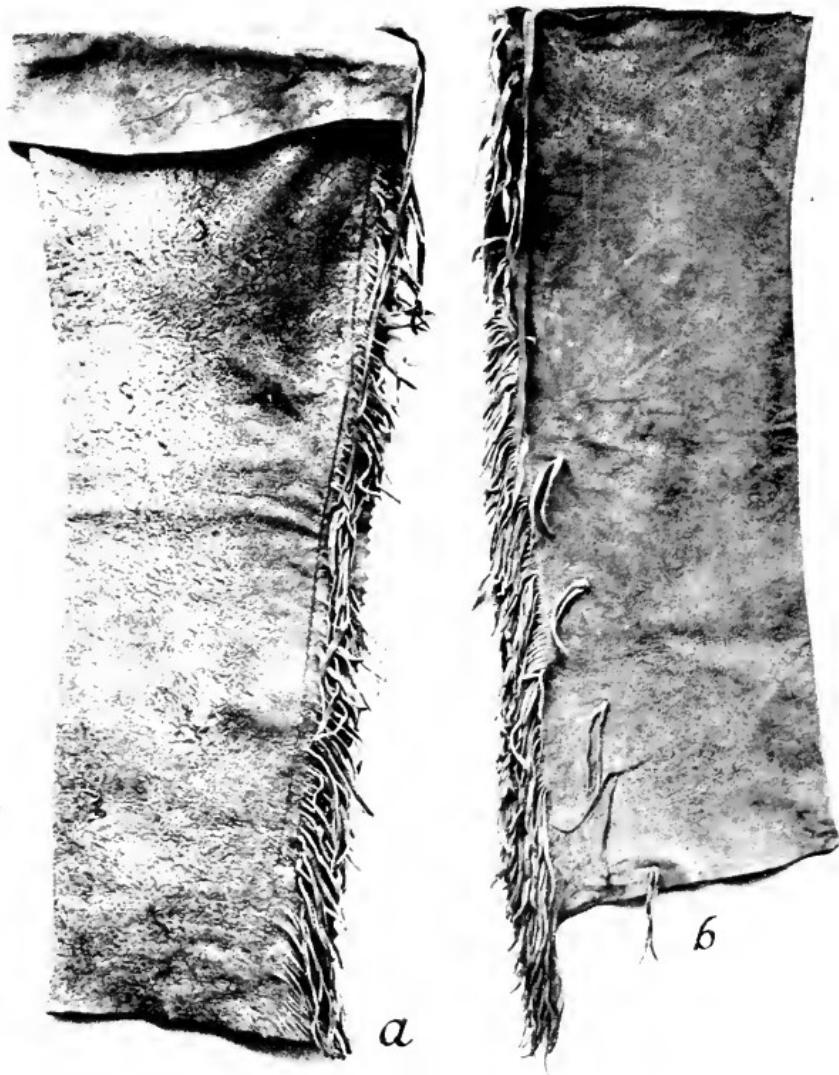
chief Oshkosh is said to have remained in the possession of some of his relatives until stolen by an acquisitive white antiquarian. At the present time the cheap calico shirt of the traders is used, often with the addition of beaded epaulets, and beaded strips on front and back. Ruffles and bright ribbons are added to suit the wearer's taste.

LEGGINGS

The ancient style of man's leg-gear was the deerskin legging. Two pairs of these were obtained for this Museum, one from the late Ke'soa'pomesäo (pl. xix, *a*), the other from Charlie Dutchman (pl. xix, *b*). The tailoring of both these pairs is very simple. A tanned doeskin, trimmed into a rectangular piece, was taken and folded down the center lengthwise of the skin. The open edges were then sewed together, beginning with a narrow margin at the top, or hip, and gradually increasing this until the ankle was reached. Here the residual edges formed flaps five or six inches wide. One of these flaps was afterward slit



ROACH OF DEER'S HAIR



ANCIENT DEERSKIN LEGGINGS

fine for a fringe, the longest strands being at the bottom; the other was notched or serrated. The sewing shown in pl. XIX, *b*, is not done in a continuous seam, but is knotted at two-and-one-half inch intervals with deerskin thongs, the long ends serving as streamers. Both pairs of leggings are made with the outer surface of the skin which once bore the hair turned in, a peculiarity which has escaped the writer's attention if extant elsewhere.

In pl. XX is shown another Menomini legging, one of a pair made in a manner similar to the preceding, but with a more elaborate fringe of much greater length, and ornamented with paint, beadwork danglers, colored yarn, and tassels. This pair, in general appearance, closely resembles the ordinary form found widely distributed among the Central Algonkians, Shawnee, Delawares, and Winnebago.

A very beautiful style of ceremonial leggings, used in the long ago, but not now seen, was made of deerskin and decorated with longitudinal strips of otter-fur.

The oldest type of cloth leggings is like

those exhibited in pl. XXI, *a, b.* These are made of broadcloth worked with flower designs in beads. They resemble the skin leggings, but have no fringe. The most recent form of cloth leggings lacks the beadwork, but possesses a border of colored silk ribbons, sewed on without much care. These leggings all differ from the trousers of Caucasians in that they are two separate garments, intended to incase the legs and thighs, a breech-clout sufficing in lieu of a seat. The thighs are thus left partially bare, even in the coldest weather.

BREECH-CLOTHS

The breech-clouts observed and collected by the writer have usually been plain strips of dark blue or black broadcloth, about two feet broad by four feet long, with varicolored silk ribbons sewed along the sides and the ends. Some, however, have had floral designs in colored beads similar to those shown on the leggings figured in pl. XXI. The garment was made to pass between the legs and over the belt, thus leaving a flapping apron before and behind.

INDIAN NOTES

on which the embroidery was displayed (pl. LXXVIII, *a*).

MOCCASINS

Menomini moccasins are of three types. The first form is a traditional variety of which no examples were secured. This is said to have been a plain shoe made of a single piece of deerskin, puckered to a seam running over the toe.

The second type, considered to be the tribal style by the natives, has a broad vamp set in over the instep, to which the upper puckers on all sides (pl. XXII). A small fringed tag is inserted at the heel, to aid in drawing off the moccasin, and tying-thongs are attached to the ankle-flap in front. In some cases the ankle-flap is abbreviated, doubled over, and sewed fast, leaving a seam at the top through which a draw-string may be run to tie around the ankle.

The third kind of moccasin resembles that commonly found among the Ojibwa and the Cree at the present time, and is attributed by the Menomini to an Ojibwa

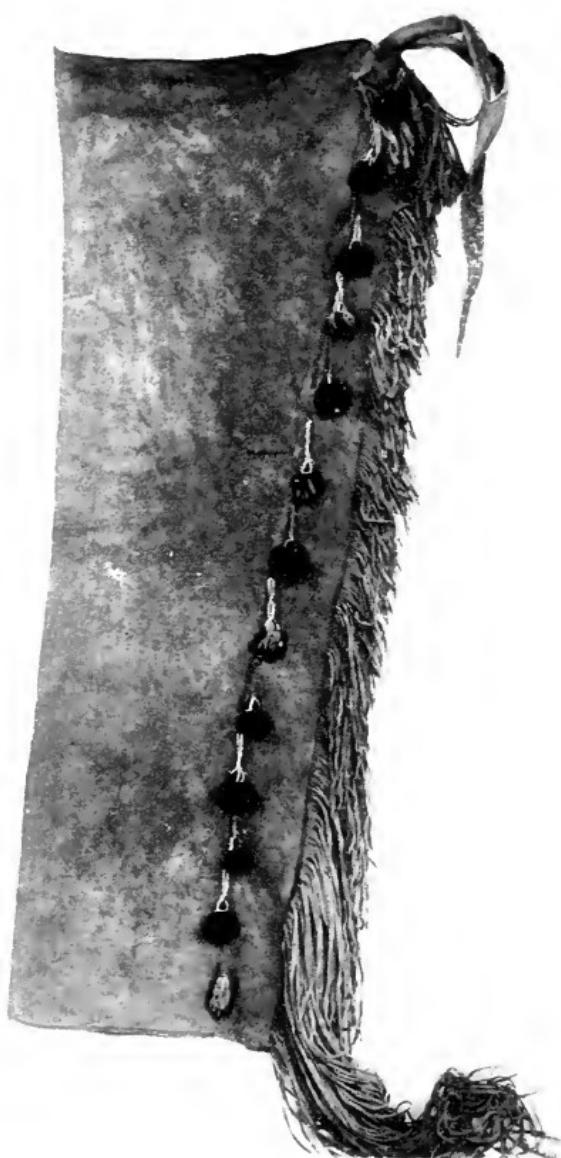
origin. In it a seam extends over the toe to the upper part, where a small oval vamp is inserted. This form shows the same methods of lacing as the preceding.

Hoffman⁴ states that the Menomini sole their moccasins with rawhide, or parfleche, but this must be a slip of the pen on the part of this usually accurate observer, for like all the tribes east of the Mississippi, the northern forested country of Hudson bay, and the Mackenzie, the Menomini use only one-piece shoes of soft, tanned leather, and always have, so far as their memories and traditions show. In this matter Hoffman's own illustrations contradict his text.

A superstition is attached to the wearing of long tie-strings in winter. It is believed that in doing this the wearer is trying to prolong the cold weather.

BEADED ORNAMENTS

No modern male costume is complete without various ornaments in the shape of woven beadwork. Pounds and pounds of strung beads are worn about the neck, although this style is more commonly



LEATHER LEGGING, ELABORATELY FRINGED
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



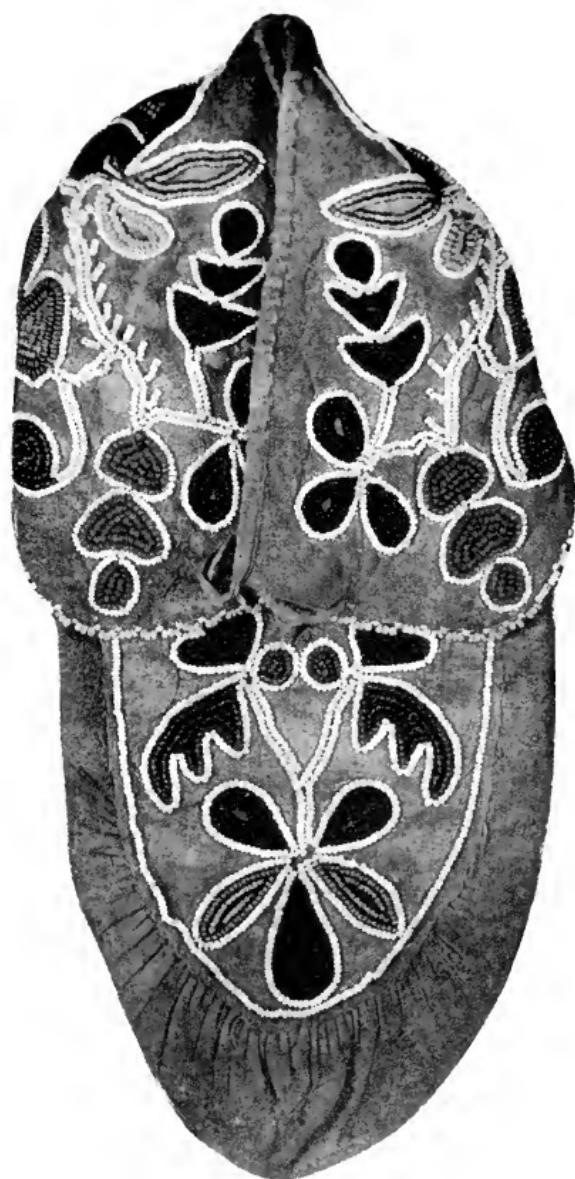
BEADED BROADCLOTH LEGGING

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



BEADED BROADCLOTH LEGGING

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



TRIBAL STYLE OF MOCCASIN

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

found among members of the gentler sex. Many men wear woven belts as shoulder scarfs. A number of woven bead garters, tied together by the fringes, are sometimes donned in the same manner. Bead belts are also worn about the waist, and garters, which have no other function than ornament, are tied outside the leggings below the knee (pl. XXIII, LXIII). There can be no doubt that all this woven beadwork is but a survival of an ancient woven quill technic, still to be found on rare old pieces preserved in medicine-bundles or on medicine-bags. The art is more fully dealt with on pages 252-266.

In addition to these articles, bandoleer bags, or shoulder pouches, of woven beads are worn usually in pairs, one on each side (pl. XXIII). The solidly embroidered bags often seen among the Menomini are not made by them, but come by trade or as gifts from the Ojibwa. The Menomini and the Winnebago in particular always weave their bandoleers; and sometimes baldrics of this type, in which the bag has degenerated into a small flap, are seen.

Yarn sashes vie with beaded belts in popularity, though they are now less common than when the writer's first observations were made. They are worn about the waist, the shoulders, and even twisted around the head as turbans. Garters were likewise woven of yarn, but are now exceedingly rare. This woven yarn technic, so say the elders, is a survival of the days when buffalo-wool yarn was available. Articles made of the skin or hair of the buffalo were never plentiful with this tribe, however, and Catlin says that even in his day the Menomini were too far removed from the buffalo to have robes, and so used blankets instead.⁵

TOBACCO-POUCHES

Men formerly wore around their necks tobacco-pouches of the skins of small animals, or of yarn woven with beaded designs. This custom, and the articles themselves, will be found more fully described elsewhere in this paper (see pages 365-367).

INDIAN NOTES



GROUP OF MEN IN COSTUME, SHOWING WOVEN BEAD
ORNAMENTS



EAGLE-FEATHER DANCE-BUSTLE

AN EAGLE-FEATHER DANCE-BUSTLE

In the ceremonies of the Dream Dance Society an ornamented eagle-feather bustle, or "belt," as the Menomini call it, is worn. Pl. XXIV shows an example of these regalia used only by officers during the greater part of the Dream Dance rites. It will be noted that the specimen closely resembles the so-called "crow" belt of the Plains tribes. The article is of heavy leather, to which are attached two elaborately decorated plumes, the shafts of which are beautified by the addition of thin, narrow, wooden strips, wound in alternate bands with colored silk thread. The tips of the plumes, and the bases as well, bear tufts of colored down, and small brass hawk-bells depend at intervals. Below the belt hangs a forked strip of cloth, to which handsome eagle-feathers, adorned with down, ribbons, decorated strips, and sleigh- and hawk-bells are attached. A flap of feathers showing between the forked part of the strip is enriched by the addition of a solidly beaded disc bearing a "whirlwind" (?) design.

The officer who wears this belt also carries in his hand a wand of authority. This is a short, slender stick, crooked slightly at the end, and wound with strings of beads of different shades in such manner that spirals of color alternate on it.

WOMEN'S ATTIRE

HEAD-DRESS

The typical Central Algonkian woman's head-dress, consisting of a beaded binder of cloth with swinging pendants of woven beads, is rare among the Menomini. An example is shown in pl. XXV; the modes of wearing it in pl. XXVI and XXVII. It is told that the ancient forerunner of this adornment was composed of a rectangular piece of leather, about ten inches by six, soft-tanned, upon which designs were quilled at the two ends, in small rectangular spaces, leaving the center blank, as is now the case with the cloth and bead specimens. The woman's hair was braided and doubled up, tied in a "club," and the leather wrapped about it in cylindrical form. Around the center strings were bound, to

which were attached long, narrow streamers, woven of colored quills, which almost touched the ground. It will be seen that this is precisely similar to the modern form, except for the materials used.

Modern "pagan" Menomini women frequently wear the hair in a simple braid in which colored ribbons are often inter-

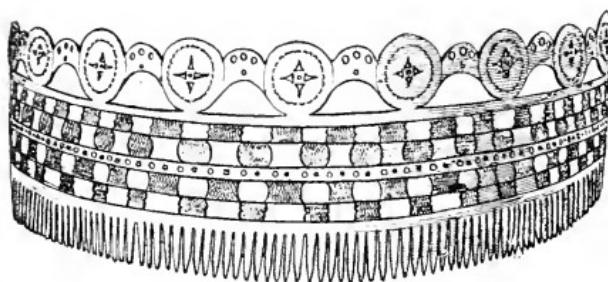


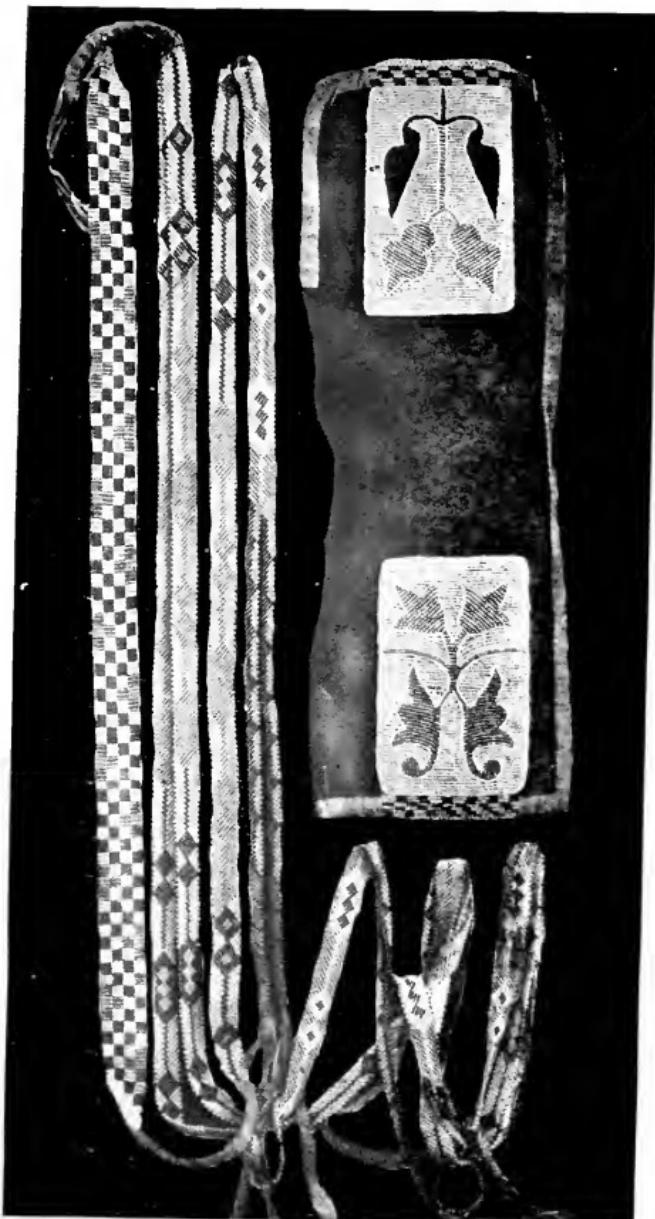
FIG. 3.—Back comb of German silver. (Height, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

twined. They also use huge back combs of engraved German silver (fig. 3), of native make. Formerly these combs were made of wood, and, though corroborating data are lacking, perhaps of bone and of antler. The one here figured is in the American Museum of Natural History, and measures $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter.

COSTUME

The women's costume is composed of a shawl of broadcloth ornamented along the borders with broad bands of silk ribbon in conventional floral or other designs, in various colors, handsomely appliquéd by cross-stitchings; a silk or calico waist, and a skirt. This latter article is made of a single square piece of broadcloth, red, black, or dark blue in color, decorated in the same way as the shawl or robe, on the lower and the side borders. The skirt is lapped around the waist, covering the legs to midway below the knee, and is held in place by a sash of woven yarn, over which the upper, plain edge of the skirt falls outward. The edges of the skirt come together at one side, and are open all the way to the waist, but are usually pinned or tacked together to prevent a sudden gust of wind from exposing the limbs, as shown in pl. XXVIII-XXX. The old people say that in early days the skirt was a square piece of tanned deerskin instead of cloth, gaily ornamented with colored porcupine-quills along the sides in lieu of silk appliqué.

INDIAN NOTES



BEADED HAIR BINDER, WITH PENDANTS

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



SAUK AND FOX GIRL IN COSTUME, SHOWING MODE OF
WEARING HEAD-DRESS, SIDE VIEW



SAUK AND FOX GIRL IN COSTUME, SHOWING MODE OF WEARING HEAD-DRESS, REAR VIEW



WOMAN IN COSTUME, SHOWING DRAPERY OF SHAWL

LEGGINGS

Women's leggings (pl. XXXI) are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee, where they are bound at their upper border, just below the joint, with string garters of non-ornamental character. The lower part of the legging, which is exposed between ankle and skirt, is often prettily beaded, or silk ribbon-work extends all along the side and lower borders.

In ancient times the leggings were made of tanned, dark-dyed deerskin, with beautiful quill embroidery in colors, or even bands of woven quillwork. Moccasins were similar to those worn by men.

WAISTS

Little information concerning the ancient type of upper garment worn by women could be obtained. Some old Indians think it was a sleeveless poncho-like shirt, with a hole left at the top for the head. A doeskin was folded over, and sewed together along the sides, leaving openings at the upper corners for the arms. This, they say, might have been attractively fringed

along sides and bottom. Whether the tail, legs, and neck of the hide were trimmed off, slit for fringe, or left as dangling ornaments, none could recall. Some thought that no upper garment was used at all, save a skin, or rather a fur robe.

Nowadays, a tight-fitting waist of silk or of calico cut in "Winnebago" style (pl. XXVIII) and covered with a profusion of native-made brooches of metal, or a much beruffled waist of "Potawatomi" style (pl. XXXII), is used. It is noteworthy that both varieties bear names ascribing them to foreign sources.

NECKLACES AND BELTS

Short, narrow, bead necklaces, beautifully woven on the bias or obliquely (pl. XXXIII, *a, c*), are still to be seen on Menomini women, although they are rapidly becoming things of the past. The older examples are sometimes woven on horse-hair. Cowrie shells strung together, and long, white glass beads (imitation wampum of the "Dutch" variety) are also worn in great quantities around the neck; a modern

INDIAN NOTES



WOMAN IN COSTUME, SHOWING SLIT SKIRT



GROUP OF MEN AND WOMEN IN COSTUME

substitute, it is said, for wampum. Bead belts are worn, though rarely, around the waist and across the shoulders.

ARTICLES OF COMMON USE

Knives were constantly carried by both sexes. The woman wore hers at her belt in a plain, leather sheath, or, in modern times, in one studded with brass tacks (pl. XXXIV, *a*). It was a small, keen knife, useful around the lodge, as well as for defense, and its domestic nature was further evidenced in many cases by the addition of an awl-case tied to its side. The man's knife, which was more of a fighting and scalping weapon, was kept in a leather sheath beautifully ornamented with dyed porcupine-quills, suspended from the neck by a short cord, and swung in front over the chest, where it could be seized on the instant. These fighting knives figure in Menomini traditional history. The writer has seen chipped stone blades, now regarded as charms, worn around the neck by the Osage, which he believes mark a survival of this custom among the Siouan people.

Nowadays; wars having ceased among the Wisconsin Indians, the Menomini wears his hunting-knife at his side; the sheath being made of plain leather like that

of the woman, or of the skin of a deer's foot with the hoofs attached (pl. XXXIV, *b*).



FIG. 4.—Necklace of bear's claws. (Length, 10 in.)

Both men and women usually disport earrings, though this is not universal. They never seem to wear more than a single pair. Men also wear necklaces, a primitive one of bear's claws being illustrated in fig. 4.

Bracelets of silver and German silver cunningly wrought by native smiths are abundant.

A typical series of these is shown in fig. 5; *d* is an example on which has been etched a rattlesnake, as a fetish against disease and witches; *c* is formed to represent a strap

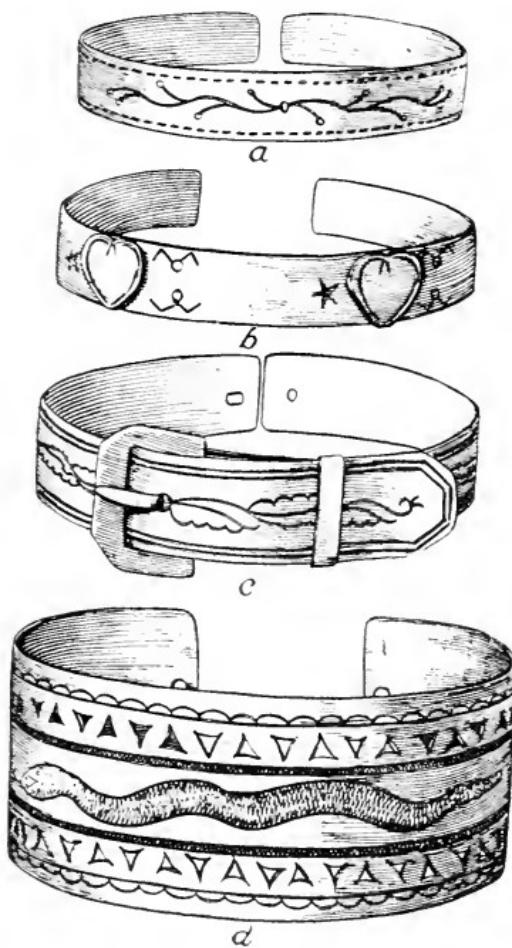


FIG. 5.—Silver bracelets. (Height of *d*, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

and buckle. Both bracelets and wrist- or arm-bands are as commonly worn by men as by women.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT

MODES OF WEARING THE HAIR

Like their hereditary enemies, the Sauk and Fox, Menomini warriors formerly roached their hair, but for warlike purposes only. The hairs were extracted one by one with tweezers probably made from the valves of a fresh-water clam. The roach, composed of the standing hair which remained, was as broad as the palm of the hand in front, but narrower toward the back of the head. A long lock was cultivated at the center of the crown. Sometimes the hair was worn long in a number of braids; again, and more commonly, it was allowed to flow free. By some it was bobbed at the shoulders, but in any case the scalp-lock was retained. This is still the practice among the more conservative Indians. Fig. 6 is a reproduction of a photograph of Kime'wûn Oke'mas (Rain Young Chief) showing his scalp-lock coiled

on his crown, although he has otherwise long since adopted the white man's hair-cut.

The men still eradicate their beards and mustaches by pulling out each hair with



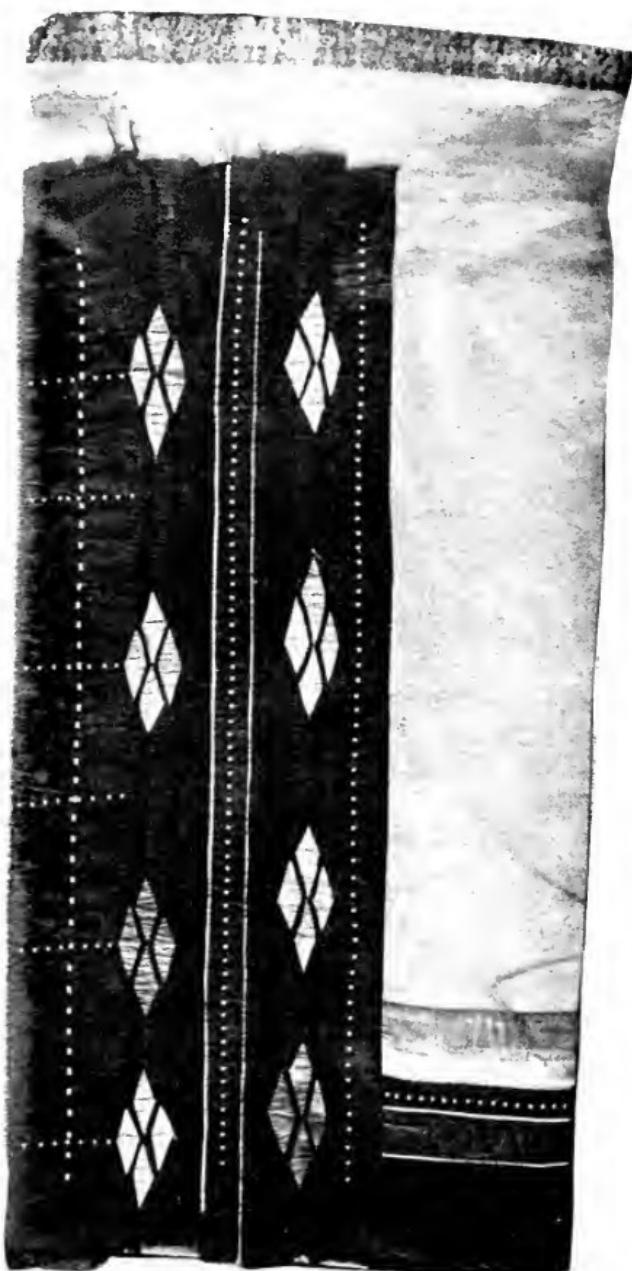
FIG. 6.—Modified hair-cut, showing scalp-lock.

tweezers made of a coil of spring wire, and women rid themselves of their pubic hairs in the same manner.

FACIAL PAINTING

The Menomini still paint the face for religious and gala occasions. The ceremonial paintings are sometimes, but not always, significant. For the various degrees of the *Mitä'win* there are special markings, which are described in another paper.⁶ In the Dream Dance the writer once saw an old man who had the upper half of his face colored yellow with ocher, with small blue spots on his cheeks; others had four horizontal stripes of red and black, or yellow and black one and one-half inches wide, under each eye; others again had red daubed on the cheek. It is customary for the members of one of the contending sides in lacrosse to put a red mark on one cheek, or on the forehead, to distinguish themselves from their opponents. Women are apt to place a small, round spot of red on each cheek, and to paint the parting of the hair the same color. In mourning, men and women blacken the entire face with charcoal.

The color red symbolizes happiness,



WOMAN'S LEGGING, BEADED AND APPLIQUÉD



WAIST, POTAWATOMI STYLE
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

hence its frequent use. Blue and green, for the Menomini do not distinguish between the two, are sacred paints of holy sky color. The writer could not learn that the Menomini ever painted their bodies, and, indeed, this was not necessary, for they have for many generations dressed fully, even for war. Whether the custom of covering the entire body with clothing is ancient may well be doubted, yet not only this tribe but the neighboring Ojibwa bands at least, count it shameful to appear at any sort of ceremony with the body exposed. This is not at all true of the Sauk and Fox, even today, and it may be strongly suspected that the Winnebago have no aversion to the nude.

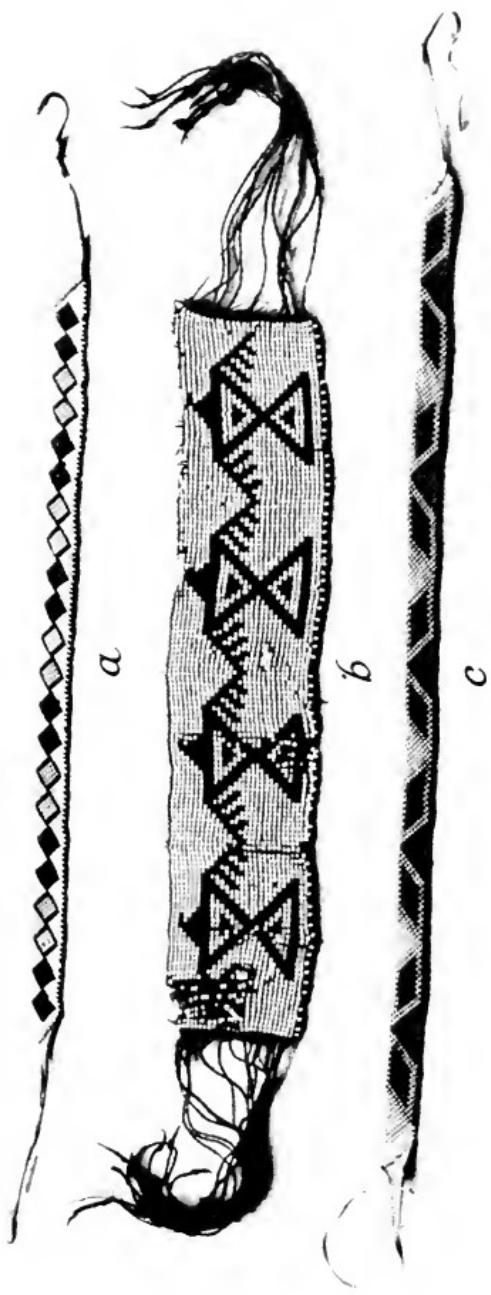
TATTOOING

Today, at least, the Menomini do not tattoo themselves for ornament but only for curative purposes. Persons suffering from chronic headache, for example, often have some local herb-doctor tattoo the figure of a Thunderbird over the seat of affliction.

In the summer of 1911, James Black-cloud, a man well along in years, sold the writer a tattooing outfit with complete instructions as to its use. The paraphernalia consists of the following articles:

1. A small birch-bark dish intended to hold liquid medicines.
2. A tattooing instrument composed of several needles set in a handle made of the thick, strong quill of some large bird, from which the covering had been stripped. The upper end had been folded over and thrust into a longitudinal slit made in its own shaft. The needles were fastened in a row in the distal end. In the hollow tube small seeds, shot, or beads, had been placed to cause it to rattle when used. Hawk-bells were attached to the upper or proximal end.
3. Dried bear's gall, used to fix the coloring pigment.
4. A package of powdered herbs and roots.

In using the tattooing outfit, a little of the bear's gall is placed in the bark dish, and dissolved in a quantity of lukewarm water, corresponding in amount to a tablespoonful. To this is added some powdered birch-bark charcoal as pigment, and a portion of the powdered roots. These last are called by the Indians skunk-root.



BEAD NECKLACES, AND BEADED GARTER WITH THUNDERBIRD DESIGN



KNIFE SHEATHS

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

deer's-ear root (an aquatic plant), red-top root, black root, and yellow root. The compound is applied in a thick paste over the seat of pain, and the figure desired is pricked in through the paste. The latter is then bandaged over the wound caused by the pricking of the needles, and is allowed to remain for four days.

The tattooing needles are said to have been given to mankind by the Thunderbirds, and represent their spears or lightning. No songs nor prayers accompanied the packet of utensils, but the user was admonished to think steadfastly of the Thunderers while at work.

MUTILATION OF THE BODY

Many have the ears pierced for earrings, which are used by both sexes. Generally only a single pair is worn, but I have seen one old man who had many perforations in each ear. For further discussion of this subject, the reader is referred to the section following.

TOILET ARTICLES

A Menomini toilet set, collected by Dr S. A. Barrett of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, is shown in pl. xxxv. It consists of a mirror with a battered homemade wooden handle, to which are attached four streamers of fur. Among these pendants is a coil of spring wire, used as tweezers to eradicate facial hair. Before the arrival of the whites, the two attached valves of a clam-shell served the same purpose. The first tiny bag shown on the left is a cosmetic holder, filled with vermillion. Concealed by the decorated top of deerskin is the bag proper, a little leather affair shaped like a tiny leg and foot cased in a moccasin with embroidered ankle-flaps. The paint-brush, figured above it, is carved from the tip of a buck's antler not yet out of the velvet, for the distal end still retains a few downy hairs left on to form the brush. The other little leather bags contain different pigments indispensable for the toilet of a warrior. The woven-bead bag formerly held tweezers.

Another toilet set is shown in fig. 7. This is interesting because the back of the home-made mirror contains a small cavity which has been used as a mortar for grinding blue paint. Other paint and medicine mortars are made from the tanned skins of gray and fox squirrels, with the hairs removed but the tails retained. The skins serve also as an envelope for the set. Such sets are used especially in the rites of the *Mitä'win*, and are often to be



FIG. 7.—Toilet set.
(Length, 17 in.)

found among the articles contained in medicine-bags.

None of the above toilet articles seems to be peculiar to the Menomini, for similar trinkets have been observed among all the adjacent tribes.

The two little woven - bead tweezer-bags shown in fig. 7 seem to be unique, however. The conventional figures on them are meant to represent the wood - duck, the most



FIG. 8.—Comb-case carved from the antler of a moose, obverse. (Height, 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.) Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

ornamental of American fowl, and therefore an appropriate decoration.

In figs. 8 and 9 are seen the obverse and

the reverse of an ancient comb-case carved from the antler of a moose. The work is very crude, and it is even possible that it was done with stone tools. Some of the figures incised on its surface are said to be turtles, the totem of its maker. A porcupine's tail, or rather a portion of one, is attached as a comb-cleaner, a common custom. It is thought

that such tails were once used as hair-brushes. The specimen here figured is in the American Museum of Natural History; in height it measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.



FIG. 9.—Comb-case carved from the antler of a moose, reverse. Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

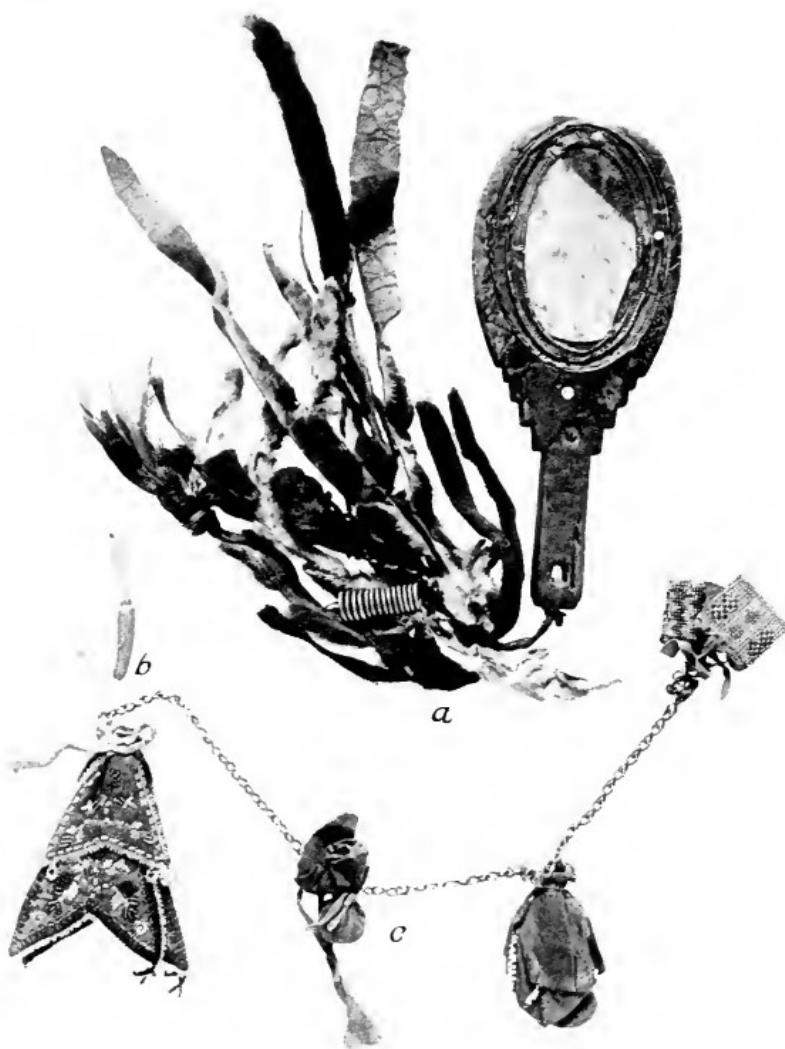
VOCABULARY

MEN'S GARMENTS

- Wawiêpi'nun*, deer-hair roach.
mikî'k pa'säkip, otter-fur head-band.
anu'ki or *apä'sos o'kum piwake'wian*, leather or
deerskin shirt.
a'sian, breech-clout.
miti'san, leggings.
ma'käsinän, moccasins.
ma'käsinän megisékwu'tawün, beaded moccasins.
pükwu'ûta, belt.
nïkinuün, necklace.
oska'siun nä'kütäo, bear-claw necklace.
käki'katäpian, beaded garters.

For clothing and other objects embroidered with porcupine-quills two terms are used, *kaiawiä'kwitikün*, or 'quilled,' a common phrase, or more properly, *pimikwü-tä'wün*, 'enriched.' Leggings or moccasins hung with carved deer's dew-claws and hoofs or with metallic tinklers, are said to be *näni'hänäkwüta'wün*. In addition to necklaces of beads, *konä'pämik* or cowrie shells (the badge of the *Mitä'win* or Medicine Dance society), bear's claws, and birds' bills were formerly used.

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TOILET SET

Photograph by courtesy of the Public Museum, Milwaukee



WINNOWING TRAY OF BARK
Length, 27 in.

WOMEN'S GARMENTS

Nisä'gipún, a hair ornament, with long beaded trailers, rarely worn by the Menomini, but common among the Sauk, Fox, and Winnebago.

pe'sakagúnwe'u, waist.

mitäna'pis or *ina"pis*, skirt.

akwu'kuatão ina"pis or *wapu'wean*, robe or blanket.

TERMS COMMON TO BOTH

The terms for leggings and moccasins are the same for both sexes. In cases where it is desired to particularize, the word *inä'ni"*, man, or *mitä'mu*, woman, is prefixed.

A'sikun wiúna'kun, knife-sheath. Knives are commonly worn by both sexes.

petcinama'uan, tobacco-pouch.

po"sahau, medicine-bag, also known as *mite'-waian* (Medicine Dance skin), and *mi-gí'kwaian* (otter-skin).

sukakwuho'swuniük, metal brooches, generally worn by women.

IV. FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

WILD RICE

TRADITIONS OF THE RICE



MONG all the forest Indians, the Menomini, dwelling in the heart of the wild-rice region, became most intimately associated with the harvest and the utilization of the plant. According to tradition they recognized this fact to such an extent that they took the title of *Mä'nomäneo Inä'niwûg*, or "Wild Rice Men," commonly abbreviated to *Mä'nomänewûk* (singular *Mä'nomäneo*), derived from *mä'no'män*, "wild rice," and *inä'niwûg*, "men," "people." The term *Menominitwok ininiwok*, as given by Hewitt in the Handbook of American Indians, is not of the Menomini dialect, but rather is a cognate phrase in some kindred Algonkian tongue.

According to Menomini tradition, the wild rice, since it springs up from under

the earth and the water, is the gift of one of the Underneath beings, probably *Sekä-teoke'mau*. The Indians believe that the birds on their migrations follow these beings and bring rice to them. They sometimes, though seldom, introduce the plant to new waters, for, Jenks to the contrary, there is no rule against transplanting rice.⁷

THE HARVEST

The usual harvest season is about the middle of September. At this time the Indians gather in camps on the shores of the lakes. They usually arrive while the rice is still in the milk, and spend the time until it ripens, in pitching their lodges and preparing to gather the grain. The older people instruct the younger generation to be quiet and to refrain from noise or boisterous play. *Nänawé'tauwúk*, or police, are set to guard the rice, and no one is allowed to trespass on the fields before the appointed day.

From time to time the police examine the rice, and when they finally decide that it is ripe enough for gathering they carry the information to the chief, who

instructs them to go from lodge to lodge crying, "Tomorrow we will commence the harvest." That night the chief of each band makes a sacrifice to *Sekätkoke'mau*. He gives a feast with prayers and a speech, saying, "We are going to commence to pick our rice tomorrow;" then turning to the people, "We make this offering to our Grandfather, the Master of Rice, who caused it to grow for our use. We give this tobacco [with these words he stops and digs a small hole and puts tobacco in it], as an offering to the Underground Powers and ask them to permit us to make the harvest. We beg for four days of good weather, and then we will leave the rest of the rice to the Thunderers for their use." Here the chief rises and throws tobacco into the fire (an unusual form of sacrifice) as an offering to the Thunderbirds: "May they permit us to pick rice for four days in the fields which they and the lower Gods have given us; then they may take their share."

At the conclusion of the speech, tobacco is passed about and the old people smoke in honor of the gods, after which the feast is

eaten. This ceremony having been performed, the four days of calm weather are sure to follow unless someone has failed to fulfil the conditions of respect and quiet which are enjoined. Women undergoing their menses and persons belonging to a family in which there has been a death within a year may not go on the rice fields, for such an act would offend both the Thunderers and the Underneath gods.

The morning following the feast the Indians visit the rice-beds in their canoes. An ideal party is composed of three—a man to pole the boat, and two women to gather the rice. Owing to the oozy nature of the lake bottoms at the river inlets, where the rice grows, an ordinary pole is not feasible for pushing the dugouts, and because of the matted rice-plants, paddling is likewise impossible. For propelling the bateau, therefore, a sapling, crotched at one end, and ten to sixteen feet long, is used. The boatman, standing in the stern, shoves his pole down among the roots of the rice, and drives his craft ahead with a twisting push, each turn causing the forked end of the



FIG. 10.—
Pulling stick
for harvest-
ing rice.

pole to grip the roots, which give more resistance than the surrounding ooze. As the boat is thus sent ahead at an even, although not very rapid rate, the women reach out and pull bunches of the rice-plant over the gunwales. For this purpose they use a stick about three and one-half feet long; then with a somewhat shorter stick, grasped in the other hand, they knock off the ripe grain into the bottom of the canoe. Work must be done quickly to keep up with the speed at which they progress. In some cases the pulling-stick is made with a slight curve for the purpose of more readily bending the rice, but some are straight, in order, it was explained, to penetrate the dense masses of the plant (fig. 10). The example figured is $30\frac{3}{4}$ in. long.

After making their course through the rice-bed the party

returns and continues thus, going back and forth, always beating each new swathe as close to the last as possible, in order to harvest all the grain. Great care is taken during the work not to offend the manitous who rule the water, especially by wasting the rice, lest they should upset the canoes, or cause storms to rise.

The beating of the rice-bed is continued until the canoe is filled, the length of time taken for this varying with the yield of the crop and the size of the bateau. When it is loaded the party returns to camp and the women at once commence shuffling the rice in the bottom of the boat, in order to break off the spiny beards. This is done with the hands or with the feet, and is an uncomfortable, not to say dangerous, procedure, since the sharp spikes are apt to penetrate the skin and work into the flesh like the quills of the porcupine, causing painful wounds; and if one flies into the eye it almost infallibly destroys the sight.

When the beards have been broken off, the rice is packed in sacks, in blankets, and in birch-bark mococks. A small quantity of

the rice, however, is reserved and hastily prepared for a feast in the following manner: The unhulled kernels are thrown into a dry kettle swung over a medium fire, and are stirred with a wooden paddle to prevent them from burning, while they roast or parch. The hulls crack like popcorn, though not so loudly, as it cooks. When the grains have all burst open, the rice is taken from the kettle and put into a pan, and a small hole is dug and lined with a cloth. Beside the hole a stake is driven into the ground. The rice is then poured in the hole and a man with clean, new moccasins steps in. Grasping the stake to keep him in place, he dances up and down on the rice to thresh it. In former times he chanted a song as he danced, but this custom has long since ceased.

After the rice is threshed it has still to be winnowed. For this purpose it is placed by one of the women in a large birch-bark dish or tray (pl. XXXVI) and shaken up and down to free it from the husks. If a breeze is blowing it helps by carrying off the chaff. From time to time handfuls of refuse work

to the top and are picked out and thrown away.

Next the rice is washed to cleanse it of any particles of foreign matter that have found their way in, and of the smoky odor caused by the parching. After this it is ready for cooking. A small quantity is placed in a kettle with water and boiled slowly, being constantly stirred to prevent it from burning. It takes only a few handfuls to make a meal, so greatly does the grain expand. The dish is seasoned with pork or with salt.

As soon as the first lot of rice has been thus prepared for eating by each family, the harvesters gather about and their leader offers tobacco, saying: "I thank thee, O Rice-maker (*Ono'miahäwätük*), that we have lived to see this season. As we must not partake of thy bounty without tobacco and a ceremony, I am doing this faithfully to carry out our part, to thank thee, and to fulfil thy wishes before we touch and taste the rice, in order that we may be successful in making a good harvest." When the leader has made this speech, the feast begins.

This ceremonial meal must always be eaten on the first day of the harvest.

After the harvest has all been gathered, the bearded rice may be hulled on the spot, or it may be taken home as it is and prepared for use later. If there is time the Menomini do not use the hasty process just described. Instead, a scaffold or grill of crossed poles is built up about two and one-half or three feet above the ground, and covered with a flat grass known as *upouki-wú'nuskwúno* ("grass made to roast or dry wild rice"); over this a mat is laid and the rice is spread on it. A small, even, "flat" fire, without high flames, is built under the scaffold, and constantly watched to prevent the blaze or the sparks from igniting the covering. The rice is stirred from time to time to keep it from burning, and gradually cracks and bursts until it is done, when it is hulled with the hands. At this stage it needs flailing and winnowing before it can be eaten.

Sometimes the rice is cached for future use by placing it in a dugout canoe and burying it on the sunny slope of some hill-

side where falling rain will rapidly drain away and not rot the vessel nor its contents. Rice so cached is still fit for use at the end of one or even of two years.

Interesting from an historical and comparative standpoint, as showing the conservatism of this tribe, is an early account of the Menomini rice culture given by Marquette, writing in 1673, as follows:

"The first nation we came to was called the Folles-Avoines, or the *nation of wild oats*. I entered their river to visit them, as I had preached among them some years before. The wild oats, from which they derive their name, grow spontaneously in their country. They grow in marshy ground and are not unlike our European oats. The grain is not thicker than ours, but it is twice as long, and therefore it yields much more meal. It makes its appearance in June and does not ripen until September. In this month the Indians go to shake the grain off the ears in their canoes, which easily falls if it be ripe, and which afterwards serves them for food. They dry it over a fire, then pack it away in a kind of sack made of the skins of animals, and having made a hole in the ground they put the sacks therein, and tread upon it until the chaff is separated from the grain, and then winnow it. Afterwards they pound it in a mortar to reduce it into meal; they then boil it in water, and season it with grease, which makes it very palatable."⁸

VOCABULARY

Mä"nomän, wild rice.

nemäkoskū'lcikütäo, wild rice threshed by the feet.

apu'atäo, parched wild rice.

ana pa'xkwün, an underground cache (also called *wana'kiün*) for wild rice. A hole dug in the earth about the size and shape of a barrel, and lined with basswood- or elm-bark. The rice is placed in bark-fiber bags wrapped in rolls of the same material (see description, p. 147). Corn was cached in the same way, and kettles of maple syrup were covered and hidden likewise.

meti^xko'ne ataxso, a canoe filled with wild rice or corn and buried in a hillside for better drainage (see p. 150).

WILD POTATOES AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

Three kinds of wild "potatoes" are recognized by the Menomini, and all are eaten with gusto. They are called:

1. *Tapepin*, 'straight.' This variety is washed and dried and boiled alone, or with corn, wild rice, or meat broth.
2. *Pe'koutc*, or *ma'tcetauopin*, 'wild or Indian potato'; cooked like the former, but occasionally prepared with meat or preserved in syrup for future use.
3. *Wapise'pin*, 'white potato,' used in the same manner as the last.

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The following were favorite old-time Menomini vegetal foods:

Sewa'pemin opanskûnûsít, dried sweet corn and wild potatoes.

Kitcekomä'sekonûk; potatoes and hulled corn. *Mä'no'män pikwoutcpâniûk kanusituo*, wild rice and potatoes.

Pikimi'na'täo, potato preserves: dried potatoes placed in maple sugar. The potatoes are dried on cedar-bark scaffolds covered with mats; they are then stored in woven sacks. I have often observed the entire process.

Wena'mäkwûn, a small spotted squash, a native variety.

Onä'hotäo pa'xtäo, squashes cut in strips, braided and dried (pl. XXXVII) for winter use.

Wawéûka pixsikûtä wena'mäkwûmûn, squashes cut in circles and dried for winter consumption.

CORN AND ITS PREPARATION

From an economic standpoint, the Menomini, like the other Central Algonkian tribes, were fortunately situated. Not only did the forests comprised within their boundaries furnish abiding places for game of all sorts, and the lakes and the rivers shelter numerous varieties of fish, but the soil was excellent and the climate pleasant, so that

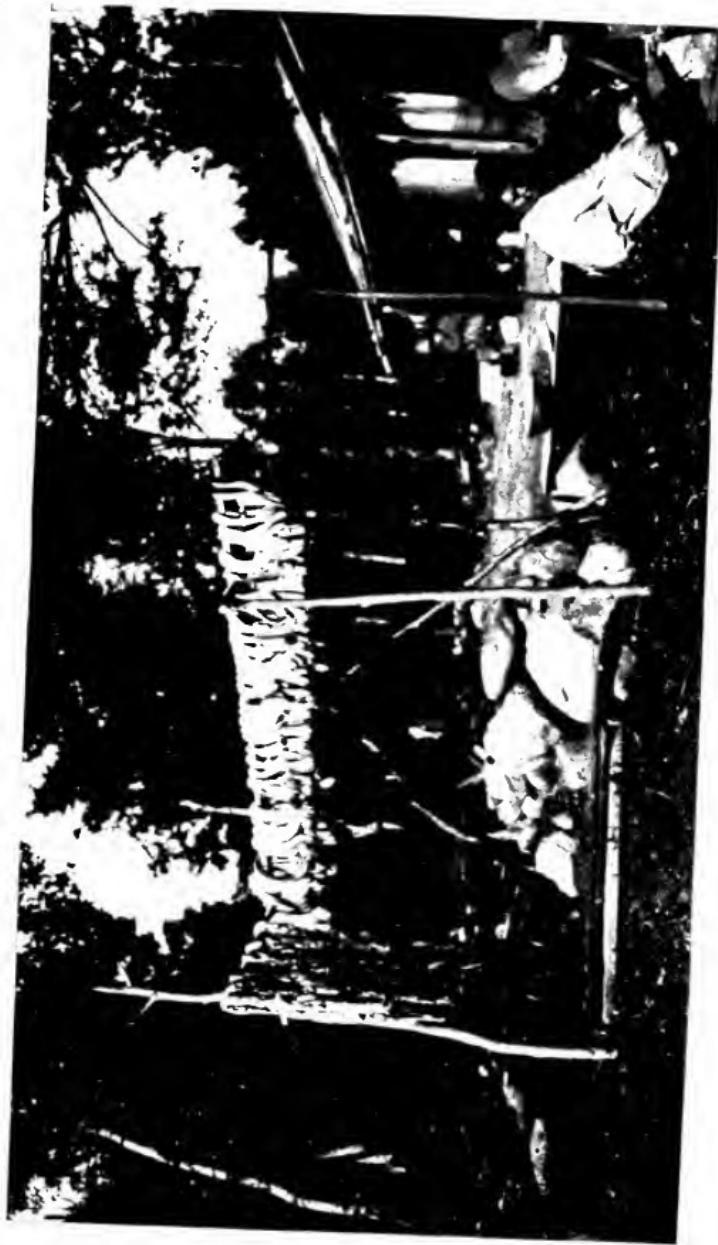
even by their primitive methods good crops could be raised. Of all the vegetal foods cultivated by the Menomini, corn was by far the most important. Their origin myth for maize is as follows:

LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF CORN

Long, long ago a certain man was accustomed to go hunting, leaving his little nephew at home to guard his lodge. Every time the uncle went out he would tell the little fellow, "I have something very mysterious; it is wrapped up in a bundle over there in the corner. Take great care of it and never open it under any circumstances."

Day after day the uncle went out and each time he instructed his nephew to be careful of the bundle. At last one day when the old man had departed, the lad thought to himself, "I wonder why my uncle is so particular about that bundle? I will open it and see what is inside."

Going to the corner where it was kept, the boy took the package. He untied wrapping after wrapping until at last he came across a sack in which there were some



SQUASHES CUT IN STRIPS AND HUNG TO DRY



MORTAR AND DOUBLE-ENDED PESTLE

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

grains of corn. "Well," said he, "since my uncle is not here I'll do as I please." So he placed several kernels in the fire to roast.

After a while the heat caused the kernels to expand, and at last they exploded with loud reports, like giant popcorn. The particles fell all over the lodge, and some flew outdoors, where they lay, covering the ground like snow. One even fell in the path of his uncle, although he was hunting a long distance away. As soon as the old man saw it he knew exactly what had happened, and he set out for his lodge as fast as he could go. In the meanwhile the frightened nephew tried to gather up the fragments and conceal them, but there were so many that he was unable to do so. They lay everywhere; some even rolled under the bed. While the boy was still at work gathering them up, his uncle arrived. Rushing into the wigwam, he cried, "Nephew, you have done that which I strictly forbade you to do! You have made me very angry, and I am going to punish you for it!"

He seized the lad and beat him until he was too tired to strike. Then he picked him

up and tossed him out of the lodge through the smoke-hole. "Never come back here again," he said. "I can never forgive you for opening this sack of mine." Then he added, "Let there be snow and storm."

According to the command of the old man, who was a very powerful *Mitä'o*, the storm came and the snow fell. The old man knew that he must get rid of his nephew, for he realized that the lad had great supernatural power, which he might sometime turn against him. In the meantime the boy lay on the ground where he had fallen, and the snow covered him over until he was out of sight. There he remained ten days. At the end of the time he arose, went into his uncle's lodge and slew him. When the old man was dead, the youth inherited all his effects, including the corn, which the old man had selfishly hidden away from mankind, but which the nephew gave to all the world.

CULTIVATION

In cultivating maize the Menomini usually planted it in large hills placed far apart.

INDIAN NOTES

Some had no hills at all, preferring to drop the seed in holes in level ground; still others were accustomed to plant in holes and build up the hills after the seed had sprouted. Several kinds of corn were known. Among them were popcorn and the ordinary maize, of which latter there were two varieties, an early blue form, and a white form ripening later in the season. The ears of the old native maize were not long and symmetrical like those now seen, but short, nubby, and conical, with comparatively few kernels. The change in shape and size is ascribed by the Indians to improved methods and implements of agriculture. It is thought that the old-time hoes were furnished with stone blades.

PREPARATION

Popcorn, called *nani'sapimin*, "mouse corn," or "little brother," was also raised. It was usually prepared by roasting or parching, and pounding it in a mortar, with the addition of dried meat, maple sugar, or wild rice, or all three. In this condition it was very nourishing, so much so that a

small quantity with the addition of a little water sustained one a long time. Consequently it was a favorite food for travelers, hunters, and warriors, who could not be troubled to carry any great bulk of food on their extended excursions. Ordinary maize was also prepared and used in the same way.

In the autumn, corn is gathered and brought into the lodges, where it is husked at the convenience of the owners. Jolly husking-bees often accompany this labor, when young and old enjoy themselves in much the same manner as do white people under similar circumstances. In husking the corn all the sheathes except four or five are stripped from the cob. These are turned back and braided together around a basswood cord, which strengthens the braid, so that it can support the ear. The braids of corn, often as much as six or eight feet long, are swung from a cross-bar supported by two crotched uprights, at a height of five or six feet from the ground. These uprights, generally placed under a bark shelter, are allowed to bear their burden outdoors throughout the autumn.

and sometimes through the winter as well. When the owners have the leisure or feel in the mood, the corn is taken down and shelled. The kernels are put in bags of woven string and stored away out of reach of mice, squirrels, and other rodents, until needed for use.

The dry corn is prepared in a number of ways, one of the most common being the following: The corn is shelled and is then crushed in a small, horizontal wooden mortar with a short, heavy, double-headed pestle (pl. XXXVIII). This reduces the corn to coarse flour or meal, but chaff is freely mixed with it. To remove this it is not sifted through a basket, as is done among other eastern Woodland tribes, but is winnowed in a birch-bark tray like the wild rice. After winnowing, the coarse part is boiled for hominy, and the finer flour is used for gruels or for cakes. Sometimes when the corn is still on the stalk, women go through the fields trying the ears. If they find that the kernels are fairly hard they pick a quantity. These they take home. They may boil and eat them at once, or they may first

parboil them, in preparation for storage, as follows: The half-cooked ears are taken and held firmly down against the bottom of a dish, while the kernels are cut off with a knife, or sometimes shelled with the back of the blade. A rush mat or a sheet of birch- or cedar-bark is stretched over a grate of poles, and the kernels are spread on this and allowed to dry in the sun, though in bad or cloudy weather the process is carried on indoors. This is the favorite corn for soup. For feasts it is mixed with beans. It is named "*sewa'pimenûk*," and is called "great in a feast."

Another popular dish is prepared by scraping the green corn from the cob with a tool made from one of the unworked rami of the inferior maxillary of the deer. The kernels, which are considerably broken up by the scraping, are put in a birch-bark pan or dish. Grease is added and thoroughly mixed with the corn, which is molded into cakes and baked in the ashes.

Green corn is often baked. For this purpose a hole is dug, about six feet long and four feet broad, by two or three feet deep.

The bottom is lined with a layer of flat stones. Half-ripe ears of corn are husked and laid on the stones and covered with a layer of husks. Then another layer of stones is laid in place, and another layer of corn, and so on for several tiers. A slow fire composed of wood leaving plentiful ashes and coals is made over the pit. This fire is usually started in the evening and allowed to burn all night. In the morning the ears are removed, and the corn shelled with either a deer-jaw scraper or a musselshell. It is boiled and is then ready for consumption.

Again, the ripe, well-grown corn is shelled from the cob. Wood-ashes are added to water until it becomes slimy, making a strong lye. The liquid is drawn off and placed in another kettle, and the ashes are thrown away. Then the kernels are put in and boiled. When the lye has softened the hulls, the corn is removed and repeatedly washed and rubbed with the hands. For this rinsing it is often placed in a hulling-bag (pl. LIV, *b, c*) and shaken about in the water. This also serves to break off the

hulls, which drain away with the water through the coarse meshes of the bag. The sound of the shaken corn indicates when the hulls are separated. The clean kernels are dried and stored in woven "short bags." At this stage it is called *ki'cekonyase'konuk*, "looking like popcorn after cooked," and is used to make soup. Such soup is seasoned by the addition of deer-bones, which are boiled with it, their marrow flavoring it. Sometimes red corn is cooked without hulling; it is shelled and boiled a long time until tender.

When traveling and not desiring to be overburdened, the Menomini frequently stored their corn in boxes made of bark of black ash or elm, which they buried at a spot to which they hoped to return (see page 152).

In addition to foods of corn and of wild rice the Menomini knew also quite a number of edible roots, nuts, fruits, and berries, which they did not cultivate, but gathered where they could find them. These were dried, made into preserves or jams, or eaten uncooked.

VOCABULARY

CORN

- Inä'n wa'pimîn*, white corn.
ape'sa'pimîn, black or 'blue' corn.
kinu'putemîn (long white kernels), white man's corn.
osauwa'pimîn, yellow dent.
nani'sapimîn, popcorn.
sewa'pimîn, sweet corn.

SQUASH

- Winä'mäkwuasîn*, small, spotted, native squash.
oka'xma'kumu'in, hard variety of Hubbard squash.
wisauwi'kwi nama'kwûn, pumpkin.

BERRIES

- Anepimî'nûn*, service-berries.
pia'kamînûn, cranberries.
noma'kimînûk, gooseberries ('sturgeon-berries').
säkwxukomînûk, June-berries.
me'nun, blueberries.
mä'kata'i wano'kwûnûk, black raspberries.
amä'kwanit wano'kwûnûk, red raspberries.
oskishiki minûn, low-bush blackberries.
pâwa'he minûn, high-bush cranberries.
wê'kano'sûn, unidentified berry, like cranberry,
 but spotted.

FRUITS

- Sewa'non*, wild grapes.
mamâ sewa'non, wild grapes (large variety).
tälä'ki mînûn, chokecherries.
na'no cmîn, black cherries.
wigishimînûn, red (birch-bark) cherries.

VEGETABLES

Pigwa'lc pāni'ūk, wild potatoes.
wapise'pīn, white potatoes.
atape'pīn, edible root.
sikako'sia, wild onion.
kwuānawi'sia, milkweed (used for greens).
wake'pen, yellow water-lily root.

NUTS

Nano'tckopaka'n, hickory-nuts.
paka'n awäpaka'n, butternuts.
säwā'nimīn, beechnuts.
paka'csük, hazelnuts.
a pā''simīnūn, pin-oak acorn.
oske'temīnūn, white-oak acorn.

MAPLE SUGAR

LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF MAPLE SUGAR

Many years ago, *Mä''näbus* was traveling about over the earth when his attention was attracted to the maple tree. It had not been one of his own creations; indeed, it was made by some other hero. *Mä''näbus* was displeased with it, for in those days its sap was pure syrup, and it ran very slowly.

"That is a poor way," said he, "for the sap to run; it is too slow and tedious for my aunts [the women] and my uncles [the men] to wait for it, and it is too hard to get

INDIAN NOTES



BARK SAP DISH AND WOODEN SAP SPOUT
Length of *a*, 17 in.; of *b*, 13 in.



a



b

WOODEN LADLE FOR STIRRING SAP, AND WOODEN MORTAR
Length of *a*, $14\frac{1}{2}$ in.; of *b*, $26\frac{3}{4}$ in.

out of the bark dishes. I'll make it better and more profitable for them."

So, suiting his actions to his words, he went over and urinated into the tree, and his urine united with the sap and made it thinner so that it flowed more freely.

"Now," said he, "my uncles and my aunts will hereafter realize that this is a far better way for them to get their sugar. Heretofore they got the syrup too cheaply, but now they will have to work for it by their sweat. There will be more sap, but they must prepare it."

SUGAR MAKING

In the latter part of February and in March the Menomini formerly made their sugar, but they claim that now the seasons have changed, and they establish their sugar-camps in late March or early in April, generally during the latter month. When the proper time has arrived they withdraw to their favorite "sugar bushes," where the men busy themselves in cutting four-foot fagots for the fires, while the women sort the birch-bark dishes (pl. XXXIX; *a*), washing

and preparing them for use. When one is found to be broken or leaky, it is marked with charcoal at the defective point and set aside. The sound receptacles are put up in nests of ten and bound with strings of bark. When this has been done the women commence to mend the leaky ones. For this purpose they calk them with pitch, obtained from deposits on sawn logs, which they scrape off with a knife. The handle of this tool is wrapped with cloth to protect the hand from the sticky substance. If no logs are available, a hole is chopped in a pine tree, and the sap is allowed to collect. This sap is then gathered and boiled in a kettle which is swung over a glowing heap of coals, but drawn to one side; or it is placed in a skillet. Great care must be taken to prevent a coal or a spark from igniting it. When it hangs sticky and stringy from the stirring-paddle, it is done. The cracks in the leaky vessels are daubed with the pitch, and rags are laid over it, which are covered in their turn. These tasks take up the workers' time until the warm spring days cause the sap to run.

Then a man takes his axe and a couple of assistants, his children, if he has any, and sets out. The assistants carry the iron gouge for cutting holes in the trees, the spouts, and the receptacles for collecting the sap. Finding a suitable maple, the man takes his axe and chops into the sunny side of the tree, drives in the iron gouge-shaped implement at the lower end of the cut, and inserts a wooden spout in the opening so made (pl. XXXIX, *b*). If the sap is flowing properly, it begins to gush out at once. A good worker will tap from two hundred to three hundred trees a day. When the spout has been inserted, one of the assistants places a dish under it, and the party proceeds. An hour or an hour and a half before dark the sap is gathered, for if left longer it turns bitter and is useless. None must be wasted, or the Powers Below will be offended and foul weather will ensue. In case this occurs, the contents of the catching dishes are thrown out, and the dishes inverted under the spout until the rain or the snow ceases, when they are replaced in their proper position.

Two birch-bark buckets suspended from a shoulder-yoke (fig. 11) are used for carrying the sap. As rapidly as they are filled they are brought back to camp and poured out in a vat or trough. This may have been hollowed out of a single, huge basswood.

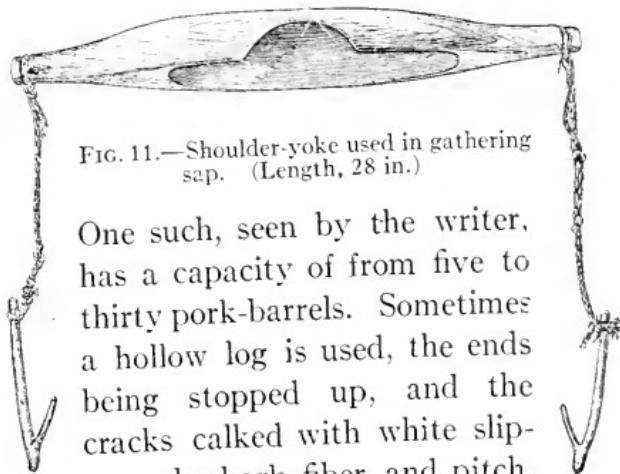


FIG. 11.—Shoulder-yoke used in gathering sap. (Length, 28 in.)

One such, seen by the writer, has a capacity of from five to thirty pork-barrels. Sometimes a hollow log is used, the ends being stopped up, and the cracks calked with white slippery-elm-bark fiber and pitch.

This trough lies partly inside and partly outside the sugar-camp so that it will be convenient for the workers.

The camp itself is a log house with no windows, the requisite light coming from the door, through the smoke-hole in the roof, and from the fires. A scaffold upheld

by crotched posts in the center of the house is covered with cross-poles, and under it is suspended the metal kettle for boiling the sap over the fire. In some cases, instead of a scaffold in the center, there are poles running from end to end of the house, over which cross-poles are laid. The sap vat projects into the room at the opposite side of the house from the door, and the smoke-hole is in the center of the roof, directly over the fires. So much for the interior arrangement of the camp.

The sap is poured into the vat outside the house, and is dipped up with kettles inside. These kettles are then hung over the fires. They have to be watched constantly, lest they boil over. In this event the watchers thrust into the sap a stick, to the end of which fresh pine-tips have been tied. This causes the liquid to recede. As fast as the sap boils away, more is added, until the vat is emptied. Now syrup begins to form in the kettles, which are immediately drawn to one side. A syrup stirrer, called *nata'poakûn* (pl. XL, a), is thrust in at intervals and twisted in such a way that the sap is lifted

up on it and allowed to fall back in the kettle. When the syrup hangs in a stringy, sticky mass, it is taken away from the fires and allowed to cool, when it is strained through a thin sack or a sheeting. When the syrup has been cleared of impurities, it is taken, two or three quarts at a time (not more, because it expands rapidly), and cooked again over a small fire. After fifteen to thirty minutes it is done. This fact is recognized either by the way in which it drips from the stirring-paddle, or by its taste. It is then stirred until it begins to harden. Sometimes the white of an egg is added to lighten the color. Then it is taken, while still warm, and poured into a wooden trough, where it is pulverized by rubbing and crushing with a heavy wooden ladle as it coagulates. The pulverized sugar is placed in birch-bark mococks, in which it is closely packed, but not pressed in hard lest it become too solid to be removed. Small, hard cakes of various shapes are often put in with the sugar. This process may be dispensed with, and it may be run into molds and allowed to harden in the various

shapes that the fancy of the maker dictates. These molds do not have to be greased like our pastry forms, for the sugar comes out very readily when cool. In former times fresh-water musselshells, or bones, or carved wooden forms shaped like turtles, stars, leaves, or dishes, were used for this purpose. Now commercial molds have largely taken their place. To make candy, or wax (*se'kat-katäo*), the syrup must be taken after the last boiling, and before it has hardened, and pulled, exactly like taffy.

When the sugar has been granulated, it is graded according to quality (the whiter the sugar the better) and stored away. To the leavings in the kettle is added sap which has been boiled a little, and this is cooked again to make second-grade sugar. It is considered a disgrace, and an offence to *Mä''näbus*, to spill or waste any sap; the sugar will shrink as a punishment. On the other hand, if the Indians are careful, they will have more than they think they have. A sacrifice is offered at every initial cooking. Sugar should be used at all feasts, and the

entire portion placed before each guest must be consumed.

After the sugar-making the kettles are washed by rubbing with wood-ashes and a stone until they are bright and clean, the Indians taking great pains with them.

VOCABULARY

GENERAL TERMS

Sopoma'tik so'pomo, maple-tree sugar.

ina'n so'pomo, real sugar.

mama'tcelau so'pomo, Indian sugar.

sopoma'x pokwûn, 'sugar bush,' or grove of sugar-maple trees where sap is collected.

GRADES

Wapishomana'kawatäo, white grade; the first run.

we'sa'uwanaka, brown sugar; the second run.

se'katkatäo, maple-sugar wax.

ape'xsamaka penä'o-omi, or *penä'o-mi* ('black partridge dung,' or 'partridge dung'). The dark and bitter last run or fourth grade of sugar.

UTENSILS

Wiki'natci'piakûn, birch-bark sap-bucket.

naio'wakûn asna'tcipi, yoke for carrying sap-buckets, etc.

makwû'kwâmitcikûn, wooden sap-spout.

wiki'hona'kûn, birch-bark dish for collecting sap.

INDIAN NOTES

nata'poakún, sap-stirrer.
nakawahi'tciu, pulverizing-trough of wood.
ä'miskwún snakawahu'tci, ladle for pulverizing,
made very heavy.
*a*xnoipi'akún*, sap-trough.

HUNTING, GAME, AND MEATS

Although agriculture played no mean part in the Menomini struggle for existence, nevertheless it was not developed by the tribe to a point where it was their principal source of food. Fishing and especially hunting supplied the major portion of their diet.

MAGIC AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE CHASE

As the writer has brought out in another paper,⁹ the Menomini not only resorted to every practical device in the way of snares and traps for taking game, but employed a number of mystic formulæ, including sacred bundles with their rituals, to overpower their quarry by means of sympathetic and contagious magic. To the present day, no hunter, however skilled, believes for a moment that he could be successful without the aid of sacred charms and incantations.

The most important of the hunting-

bundles is one called *Misa'sakiwís*. This potent medicine was obtained from the manitous by the Culture-Hero *Mä"näbus*, who fasted until the hearts of the Powerful Beings were smitten with pity for his deplorable state. The first animal to respond was the beaver, who gave his mystic song to lure the game, and his skin to contain the medicines. Next was the weasel, renowned for his ferocity and his success as a hunter. The mink followed, for he is wise in the ways of animal-kind, and, after him, the wolf, who is master of the deer, and many other predatory creatures added their powers. This bundle is given by the gods to especially worthy men, to whom they appear in visions.

The opening of the bundle in a "clean place" in the woods precedes the hunt. The men of the party perform a dance dramatizing the chase and slaughter of the deer, and its subsequent preparation for food. Next morning they smudge their weapons in incense taken from the bundle, and set out, sure of success, because the essence of the charmed pack has already

permeated the forest during the night and stupefied the game. The bundle also contains formulæ for killing and blinding witches, one of whose wicked activities consists in stealing luck from hunters. As the witch-destroying formulæ can be turned against innocent parties, the bundle has fallen into disrepute, although its game-overpowering qualities are generally acknowledged. Few of these packs are in existence, but another and almost as important a medicine is more widely distributed. Indeed parts of it may be found in the possession of almost every conservative male Menomini. This is the famous "Spotted Fawn Medicine," or *Kitagä'sa muski'ki*".

The spotted fawn medicine was given to *Mä'näbus* because the first bundle which he received from the Powers was too difficult for ordinary mortals to obtain, only a few persons being worthy to possess it. The lesser packet contains two gifts from the animals that are of transcendent importance. The wolf, as master of the deer, donated his abilities in the chase, and the

deer themselves submitted, giving their consent to be captured that the Indians need not starve. Because of its small size, *Mä'ñäbus* doubted the efficacy of this charm, but the manitous took him to an island in the middle of the ocean, and there, after he had performed the rites, all the animals in the world appeared before him, and he was convinced.

In addition to these principal charms, there are all manner of personal hunting-fetishes of lesser value, either obtained in dreams by their owners or bought of successful hunters and wizards. There are even times when it is permissible to use war-bundles, or perhaps only certain ones among them, to take game. None of these things is of such tribal importance as are the two great hunting-bundles, which, while privately owned, are employed for public benefit, and are regarded as national standbys in days of starvation.

Many are the superstitions and beliefs of the Menomini regarding the taking of game. In their philosophy, if not in practice, animals must not be slain wantonly.

Each species of wild game is supposed to have its chief or ruler, resident underground, and no doubt connected, if not identical with, the animal manitous controlling the four tiers of the Underworld. It is further believed that in the beginning all slain creatures came to life and returned to their former haunts, ready to be slaughtered again, on the fourth day. However, when the Culture-Hero refused to let the Powers Beneath revive his younger brother whom they had slain, this resurrection ceased. Nevertheless, it is believed that only by propitiating game animals and their leaders will beasts be allowed to fall a prey to the weapons and the traps of the hunter.

The bear is the recipient of special reverence and is not killed without a ceremony and apology, a custom widespread among the Central and Northern Algonkians.¹⁰ Bones of the bear are scrupulously collected that they may not become food for dogs, and are deposited in running water. The skull is hung in a tree in a "clean place" in the woods. These animals are supposed to

reside in springs during winter, as well as in drier hibernating quarters.

The wolf was never deprived of life unless some hunter, having repeatedly missed fire, decided that his bow or his gun was at fault. He therefore slew a wolf, and, laying his weapon between the forefeet of the animal, presented the carcass with tobacco, begging it, or rather its spirit, to cause his missiles to find their mark. In former years, it is said that an Indian who had uselessly taken the life of any small animal was obliged to absolve himself by offering tobacco and prayer, lest ill luck befall him.

It is believed that in the spring the deer face the south, and that the wind from that quarter blows away their gray winter coats and gives in exchange the red fur of summer. In the fall, they feed facing north, and the process is reversed. In the beginning the deer desired to eat man, but was rendered harmless by virtue of an edict of the assembled gods, who rendered it subordinate to men and to wolves. The deer is regarded as the most useful of all animals; its flesh is food, its skin is valuable for clothing, its

hair for ornaments or quilting, its bones for tools, its antlers for arrowpoints and glue, its hoofs and dew-claws for glue and ornaments, and its sinew for thread.

Lone muskrats, outlawed by their tribe, are supposed to grow great in size and ferocity, even attacking men. A muskrat secured the mud of which the Great Dawn reconstructed the earth during the flood. The muskrats are admirers of the tribe of beavers, whom they imitate in the construction of their lodges, but not very successfully. Muskrats are excellent food, but are generally considered fit only for old people.

Dogs are eaten on ceremonial occasions, but not even then with relish. To spare the feelings of the feasters, so it is said, the meat is referred to as "white raccoon." Dogs could once speak, but were indiscreet and so lost the privilege.

Garter-snakes are said to change into chipmunks, and vice versa. The small painted turtle, scratching his gaily red-blotted sides, causes sparks to fly off, and thus sets the prairies on fire. The snapping

turtle, highly valued for food, especially for sacred feasts, is called by a number of ceremonial names, such as *Mi'shikäo*, which I suspect is literally "Hairy (Mossy) One," and *Ukema'uwinîni*, "Chief Man."

Another myth recounts that the catfish, little and insignificant as it now appears, on one occasion slew a huge moose. His head is flattened because a moose once kicked him there. There is a semi-human sturgeon who is looked upon as a "strong power," and has been known to travel on land. These, and a host of other little superstitions concerning the animal kingdom, are current among the Indians.

CUSTOMS OF THE CHASE

THE FEAST OF THE FIRST GAME

The first animal, whether furred or feathered, that was slain by a male child, was made the object of much congratulation by his parents, who immediately had it cooked, no matter how worthless it might be, and served in an informal feast or celebration called the *Oskinä'nitdwin*, or "Youth's Dance," to which even the prominent men

of the camp were invited, and of which they pretended to partake with great solemnity. This was done by the way of encouraging the youthful Nimrod to slay game, and thus become "a good provider" among his people.

THE DIVISION OF GAME

Among the Menomini a man's father-in-law has a peculiar right to a share in any bear which his son-in-law may kill. It is his duty to skin the animal, and he is entitled to keep the hide, one side, the head, and the neck. This rule does not apply to other game. If any person chances on a hunter who has just killed a deer, the slayer is forced by custom to give him the hide and a portion of the meat, especially if the newcomer is an old man. It then falls on the recipient to skin and cut up the deer. The slayer is entitled to receive the head, shoulders, brisket, lungs, heart, and back. The custom of surrendering part of the kill to a new arrival is called *a'poko'*, and the act of giving it was accompanied by the phrase, "*N'da'bokinun*," "I give it to you,"

with the gesture of flinging out the open right-hand. I have seen a man surrender the entire carcass of a small mammal, such as a squirrel, to a stranger who, having heard the shot, ran to the spot in hope of surprising the hunter. I have also seen a man, thus caught, "buy off" the newcomer by means of some small gift.

DEER HUNTING

Deer were driven to slaughter in the following manner: Trees were chopped and allowed to fall partly over, with limbs on the ground, and trunks still attached to their stumps. This was done at intervals, all the trees being made to lie in the same direction. Two V-shaped, or inward-pointing lines of these were made, the arms of the V often extending several miles. At the apex of the V was a narrow opening where several armed hunters were concealed.

A body of men beat over the country, driving the deer into the mouth of the V or funnel. Fearing or hesitating to break through the lines of fallen trees, the animals, if not too frightened by the drivers, ran

slowly straight on to the apex of the trap, where they were easily shot.

This method of driving is called *kuska'-kwuso* or *spimawanota'xka*, "the drive," or *apä'sos spe'mepatikuû*, "the deer, now their running." The time of year best suited for this manner of hunting was when the garden stuffs were full grown. The last drive

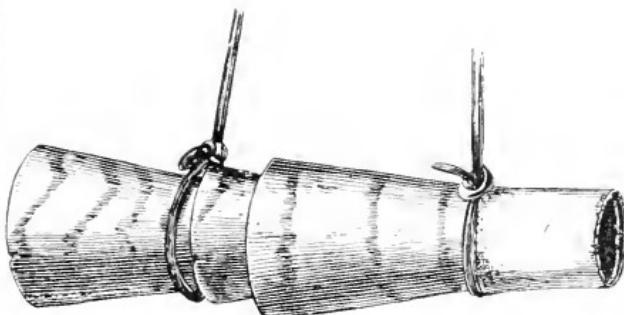


FIG. 12.—Wooden deer call. (Length, 4½ in.)

was held at Thunder lake, near Little hill (*Watci'usê*), in 1870. Not every one was able to be successful in deer-driving, not even those who used the great hunting-bundles.

Lone hunters took deer by twitch-pole snares with slip nooses, set in the animals' trails. Does are still called to the hunter



FIG. 13.—Hunter using the deer call.

in the spring. The man concealing himself, imitates the bleat of a new-born fawn by means of a double wooden horn (fig. 12, 13). Any doe in the neighborhood will rush to the spot on hearing the plaintive cry. The Indians consider this method dangerous, as wildcats and wolves are also often lured by the sound.

Deer are still chased down their runways by dogs, or by men beating the bushes, until they pass hidden hunters. This style of chase is called *mi'uskûnûk*. In modern times, at least, deer are attracted to artificial salt "licks," where the hunter has a scaffold erected, from which he shoots his game. Still-hunting on foot, or from a canoe, has always been practised. At night deer are approached where they gather to eat the pads and stems of water-lilies in the shallows of streams and ponds. A jack-light, consisting of a blackened wooden sconce supporting a resinous torch (fig. 14, and 48, *a*), is used to dazzle the eyes of the game until the hunter can shoot.

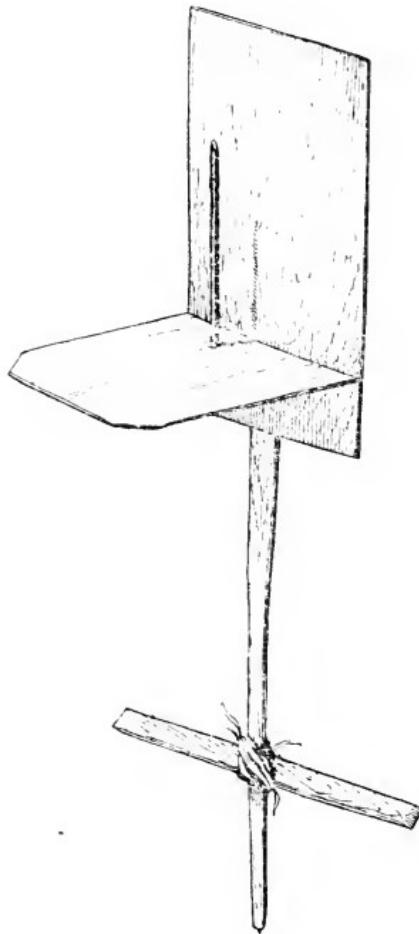


FIG. 11.—Jacklight used in hunting game.
(Height, 47½ in.)

BEAR HUNTING

In olden times, men armed with spears having stone blades and wooden shafts "a man's height in length," entered bears' dens and slew them single-handed at close quarters. This was considered to be as brave a deed as to slay an enemy. Bears were also trapped in various ways. An ancient method, still sometimes employed, was the deadfall, or *ta'no'nagûn*. This was made of a heavy log, often weighted at the upper end with stones. The log was set up obliquely and was supported by a "figure 4" trigger. Directly under the log, a small enclosure of stakes was built, in which the bait was placed. In order to get at the lure the bear was obliged to enter the enclosure. The instant that the bait was touched, the trigger to which it was attached released the log, which crashed down on the animal and broke its back. I have frequently seen this identical device employed by the Ojibwa north of Lake Superior, and have observed similar deadfalls in use by the Menomini and the northern Algonkians to take smaller

fur-bearing animals. The Ojibwa, and doubtless the Menomini, utilize a variation of the deadfall for trapping bear, in which the animal, instead of entering an enclosure, is obliged to stretch its neck over a log. When the trigger is released, another log falls crosswise on the neck of the brute, and either breaks it or causes death by strangulation. Nooses arranged to twitch upward and hang the bear are set in a similar manner. In modern times, the Menomini frequently set traps of steel in a small enclosure like that made to house the bait for the deadfall, so that the bear on entering may be caught by the leg. To the trap is chained a heavy log "clog" which drags after the wounded animal attempting escape, and makes his trail well marked and easy to follow. Bears are also captured in pitfalls called *swa'nakûtäk*. These are set in the bear path or trail, and covered with rotten sticks or reeds, over which earth and leaves are sprinkled.

For bait, besides magic lures, honey, apples, pork, beaver musk, and other sweet-smelling or oily substances are used. It is

said that a bear will travel a long way out of his path to find the source of any sweet or unusual savor brought to his nostrils by the wind. Still-hunting on foot with the rifle, or formerly with the bow, was done principally in the late summer, when the bear gorges on raspberries, and travels widely in search of abandoned clearings or burnt-over openings in the forest where the fruit grows in abundance. In the fall the bear roams again, this time feeding principally at night on acorns from the oak trees which cover the sandy plains and ridges. The Indians say that the bear relies on this feast of acorns to provide the fat which is to carry him through his winter sleep. The Menomini declare that at other seasons the bear is met with only by accident, and inhabits the heart of the forest. It is said that bears were formerly hunted out in their winter quarters, early in the spring, when the females have just brought forth their young. It was at this time that adventurous youths showed their metal by hand-to-hand conflicts in the den.

The Menomini speak of several varieties

of bears besides the black and the grizzly; the latter animal, by the way, was known to them only from their raids beyond the Mississippi for war or for buffalo. The additional species of which the elders speak are doubtless all mythical. One of these is a bear called *kinu'a*, which had no fur on its sides. This may be a survival of an ancient pan-Algonkian conception, since a similar hairless bear occurs in the legends of the Delaware and Mahican tribes of the Middle Atlantic states.

OTHER GAME

The eyes and feet of small animals such as rabbits, muskrats, and the like, are carefully removed by the hunter, strung on basswood strings, and festooned about the lodge. This makes the surviving members of the species less able to see or feel the traps set for them. Rabbits are taken by simple nooses set in their runways. The stupid little animal, hopping along, finds its narrow path partially blocked with fresh twigs set upright, and only a small opening left. Through this it thrusts its head and neck,

to become entangled in the noose of hair or cord neatly set there and swiftly choked to death. The large gray Canada lynx is said to be as easily trapped as the rabbit, and in a similar manner. As the lynx has the habit of following travelers in the forest, probably out of curiosity, the Indians sometimes set nooses behind them in their own trails, like rabbit snares but on a larger scale, so that any lynx dogging their footsteps may be caught. Lynx are also driven into trees by dogs, and then captured by means of a slip noose fastened to the end of a pole and thrust over the big cat's head. It is then an easy matter to choke the animal to death. The Indians insist that the common wildcat, though much smaller than the lynx, is a much more intelligent and ferocious animal, and cannot be so easily taken.

CANNIBALISM

Human flesh was eaten ceremonially by the warriors, who cooked and devoured small portions of the bodies of slain enemies on the field of battle. The heart of a

brave foeman was especially prized as giving the courage of the vanquished to his conqueror. In this connection it is interesting to note the corroboration of native statements found in the observations of a British officer made during the siege of Fort Meigs on the Maumee river, Ohio, in the war of 1812, and published in the *London New Monthly Magazine* for December, 1826. The Menomini warriors to whom he refers were at that time enlisted in the service of the British.

"As we continued to advance into the heart of the encampment, a scene of more disgusting nature aroused our attention. Stopping at the entrance of a tent occupied by the Minoumini tribe, we observed them seated around a large fire, over which was suspended a kettle containing their meal. Each warrior had a piece of string hanging over the edge of the vessel, and to this was suspended a food, which, it will be presumed we heard not without loathing, consisted of a part of an American; any expression of our feelings, as we declined the invitation they gave us to join in their repast, would have been resented by the Indians without much ceremony. We had, therefore, the prudence to excuse ourselves under the plea that we had already taken our food, and we hastened to remove from a sight so revolting to humanity."¹¹

METHODS OF PREPARING AND COOKING MEATS

One of the favorite methods of dressing deer, especially when it is necessary to transport the meat for any distance, is to remove the flesh in one solid sheet, called *ma'sahau*, which can easily be carried by one man. A quantity of boughs, or grass or hay is placed under the carcass to fend it from the dirt, and the dressing is commenced at the head. The flesh is flayed away in a blanket-like mass, which can be rolled into small compass. Sometimes the entire sheet is spread before the fire on half-a-dozen peeled willow wands, slanted toward the heat and soon dried. The bones of the skeleton are disjointed and boiled, or roasted on the coals. In any event, it is customary to draw out the entrails first in order to preserve the meat from spoiling. The tongue also is generally removed shortly after the animal is slain.

Sometimes meat was first parboiled, and then roasted on spits before the fire, or it was strung on basswood strings and dried in front of the blaze. The short ribs of deer

are considered very good and are boiled in blocks. The sirloins are esteemed for roasting, but the back fat, found over the hips, is the choicest part. Deer-hams were sliced, partially roasted on spits, strung on basswood strings and dried. It is believed that the flesh of a barren doe or of a lone or "bachelor" buck, an outcast from the herds, is especially palatable. No taboos concerning the cooking of venison seemed current, but the Indians declared that bear and beaver meat were never boiled in the same kettle, owing to the fact that the bear and the beaver women once quarreled over a human husband, as is related in one of their folktales. Young men durst not eat the head of the woodchuck, lest it stunt their growth.

Raccoons, and perhaps other small animals, were suspended by strings tied about the tail, and roasted before the fire, the string being slowly twisted to distribute the heat. The writer has eaten moose-hearts prepared in this way by the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux. Meat was often roasted on coals, and small animals were

sometimes rolled up in clay and baked in the hot ashes. This was a favorite method of dealing with porcupines. When the clay shell was split open the quills and hide of the animal adhered to the mold and the roast came out clean. The entrails were not removed as it was thought that they improved the flavor. Small animals such as squirrels were often impaled on spits and thus roasted. When all is said and done, however, boiling was the commonest way of preparing meat. It is possible that the fact that stews and soups can be distributed in equal portions with the greatest ease may have influenced Menomini public opinion in this manner.

PAUNCH BOILING; BARK KETTLES

When earthen kettles or other receptacles were not available, the Menomini took the stomach of an animal recently slain, and filled it with water and pieces of meat. This improvised boiler was hung up over a slow fire and served to cook a meal or two. It could not be used many times, however. Birch-bark kettles were also used in the

same way, but they too, it is said, were not durable.

VOCABULARY

MAMMALS

- Mûskuti'a pi'shäki^u* (formerly *pi'shäki^u* alone),
buffalo.
apä'sos, deer.
aia'päo, buck.
o'ko', doe.
kitagä'sa, spotted fawn.
manase'se, larger unspotted fawn.
oskä'ko, yearling deer (best food).
oskä'tiyapäo, lone or bachelor buck.
mä'nûko, barren doe.
onamatä'sia, unborn fawn.
oma'skos, elk.
mätcä'ia, unusually large elk.
ni'tcian (child), fawn.
omo's, moose.
watä", caribou.
mishina'wanink, gray ('hairy') squirrel.
ape'senink, black squirrel.
osu's, muskrat.
nomä', beaver.
änä'm, dog (eaten ceremonially).
mi'shwäo, cottontail rabbit.
wa'pus, snowshoe rabbit, varying hare.
kitäka'bos, wildcat.
pise'u, panther.
pise'sa, lynx.
muhwä'o, wolf (not eaten).
u'tcik, fisher.
wapä'sia, marten (rarely eaten).

BIRDS

- Pinä'o*, partridge.
na'stäkänä'o, prairie chicken.
muskotänä'o, quail.
kiwa'neu, quail.
tut'i's, woodcock.
wipikwu'känäo, canvas-back.
wakaiyo'sa, butter-ball.
muskäti'näo, teal.
meke'k, wild goose.
aa'wäo, brant.
wa'peseo, swan.
mäse'sip, mallard.
winibigo'sesip, black duck ('Winnebago duck').
wishinükä'kiu, coot (young).
wapikisu'nien, bittern.
kwüld'lcia, crane.
ose, fish-duck.
supai'shuk, wood-duck.
apä sakiu, wavy snow goose.
mu'ok, loon.
seke'ma, helldiver.
mätc seke'ma, large grebe.
sä'sa'kco, blue heron.
wishmi'anuv, long-eared owl.
wiwishmi'anuv, great horned owl.
piro'näniu, red-shouldered hawk.
'wätükomimi'sa, mourning dove.
omi'mi, wild pigeon.
ki"ki, coot, mud-hen.

PARTS OF THE DEER

The following terms are applied to the cuts of venison, and, to distinguish them

from other game, must usually be preceded by the name *apä'sos* (deer).

Wes, head.

oki'kün, neck.

otä'n (pl. *otä'niük*), shoulder.

o'sa'nawa'ti ("crotch"), brisket.

oka"kamau, back.

ona'kishiün, entrails.

ok'xon, liver.

otä'shotäküm, pancreas.

oto'nonesük, kidneys.

wena"nük, tripe.

weneno'sa, tripe-tallow.

o'pa'nun, lungs.

mítä', heart.

osi'kun or *opü'o* (pl. *opü'omiüm*), saddle.

o"cum, skin.

we'wenun, antlers.

ose'tük, feet (legs).

otä'siwük (pl. *otä'siwükün*), sirloin.

usi'kün, buttocks.

FISHING

In former years, when the Menomini were situated along the shores of Green bay and the rivers which flow into it, fishing played an important part in the economy of the tribe. Now the Indians have little access to the bay, and can take only the few species of fish that their lakes and streams afford.

LEGEND OF THE STURGEON

In earlier times the sturgeon was foremost among the fishes used as food. It was found not only in Lake Michigan, but ascended the favorite rivers of the Menomini to spawn. Up to the time that the whites placed dams in the Wolf, Keshena falls, on the present reserve, was a great resort of these fish in the spring. Here the high water that follows the thaws and rains beats against a mass of rock, making a drumming noise. Menomini folklore declares that this is the music of a mystic drum belonging to the manitou who owns the cataract. They say that when this drum beats, the toads and the frogs begin their mating songs, and the sound calls the sturgeon to the pools and eddies below the cataract. There they formerly spawned and were then speared in large numbers.

Sturgeon played so important a part in early Menomini economy that they receive frequent mention in mythology. One of the first acts of the Great Underground Bear, after he had metamorphosed himself into

the original human ancestor of the tribe, was to invent a bark canoe and a spear, that he, and his people after him, might take these fish. However, in another tale, the "Jonah" concept, these inventions are credited to *Mä'näbus*. The myth of the separation of the tribe ascribes this to a dispute over sturgeon, and other examples might be cited.

METHODS OF CATCHING FISH

Sturgeon were usually captured by spearing, either from the rocks along the shores of rivers, where there were pools or shallows, or from canoes. The spears which were used for this purpose seem to have been bone- or copper-headed harpoons, probably, but not certainly, unilaterally barbed. Another form, probably used for smaller fish, is a variety of trident. In this case a straight cedar pole, at least ten or twelve feet long, was selected, and at the heavier end a mortise was made to receive two outward-slanting cedar prongs, serrated inwardly, with a central spike between them. This armament was held in place by a firm binding of

cedar-bark twine. The fish was impaled by the thrust of the central spike, and prevented from escaping by the barbed or toothed side-prongs. Fish-spearing was and is (for the writer has frequently joined the Indians in this procedure) often done at night in the shallows, the water being illumined by the rays of a jacklight, such as is used to dazzle the eyes of deer (fig. 14). Iron spears, bought of the whites, are now substituted for those of native make.

Fishhooks, made of bone or of native copper, and generally, if not always, barbless, were commonly used by the Menomini, before, and to some extent after, the period of European contact. The writer himself once found a copper fishhook on the old Menomini site of High Banks near the city of Oconto.

Gill-nets, woven of bark-fiber cord, were abundantly utilized. They were held upright in the water by means of lanceolate floats whittled of cedar, and weighted down by sinkers of notched pebbles. No examples of these, nor of several varieties of fish snares, vaguely remembered by the elders,

have come down to the present day. The probability is that they closely resembled those still found among the Ojibwa. It is said that when nets were set in the winter, especially for whitefish, holes were made in the ice not far apart, in a long row, and the net dropped into the water through the first and largest, then pushed with a pole from opening to opening, until its entire length was spread out. Its stone sinkers carried it downward to the deepest bottom, where fish congregate in cold weather, and its wooden floats or buoys held it upright so that fish blundering into it enmeshed their gills.

In chopping holes in the ice for fishing it is probable that the Menomini formerly used an ice-chisel of the same type as that described to me by old men among the Ojibwa and the Cree. This implement consisted of a stout handle to one end of which a narrow stone or copper celt was lashed, or inserted in a cleft and lashed, in such a manner that the planes of blade and handle were continuous. Narrow celts of

the type described are sometimes found on old Menomini sites.

In winter the Menomini, like their Ojibwa neighbors, and the Eastern or "Santee" bands of Dakota, repair to the lakes to angle through the ice. This is accomplished in several ways. A hook and line attached to a "tip-up" device, similar to, if not identical with that used by the whites, is now commonly employed, although its antiquity is questionable. Another method, which is surely aboriginal, is as follows: A small hut of boughs is built on the ice, and covered so tightly with a blanket or robe as to exclude the rays of the sun. Beneath the shelter a hole about a foot across is cut. The fisherman, with the light above him excluded, finds the clear water transparent to a considerable depth; in fact, the same effect can be obtained, though with less success, by merely chopping a hole in the ice and lying over it, with a blanket thrown over the head. An artificial minnow, carved of wood and cunningly weighted with lead to sink it and keep it balanced, is attached to a string and lowered into the water, where

it is given a lifelike motion by jerking the cord which is usually fastened to the end of a short stick. When a fish attempts to seize the lure, it is promptly speared.

In summer, fish were formerly shot with arrows in the shallows. Some say that a string was tied to the arrow and this in turn made fast to the bow. Apparently the practice of shooting fish has not been in vogue for a long time.

METHODS OF PREPARING AND COOKING FISH

When caught fish were usually boiled, or roasted on spits, and eaten, but they were also dried on scaffolds, or split, tied by the tails or hung from a cross-bar, and dried, either in the sun, or over a slow fire. To this day small fish such as brook trout are often smoked entire. In the spring of 1920 the writer ate some trout prepared in this manner at Keshena, and found them a great delicacy. Sturgeon and other large fish were drawn, split from the head down, and, like the smaller fish, suspended from a hurdle or laid on a grill and smoked or dried.

Sometimes the sturgeon was sliced in flakes, which were smoked or sun-dried.

Dry or smoked fish were often pounded in a mortar before boiling; or the pulverized mass could be added to mush. A dish held in high esteem was composed of the head and the fins of sturgeon boiled with wild rice. Such especially delicate foods were called "*mitä'o* cooking."

Sturgeon-roe was dried in the sun. A quadrangular scaffold was erected and covered with elm-bark laid with the inside up. The edges of the bark were tied or weighted so that it could not curl inward as it dried, and over this a cedar-bark mat was thrown. The roe was spread on this covering with a paddle, and stirred from time to time so that it might cure thoroughly. When finally dried, it was placed in cylindrical cases of swamp-ash-bark, about a foot in diameter and two or three feet high. So prepared, the roe could be stored indefinitely. It could be eaten as it was, or it might be served in various ways, chief among which were:

Roe Pudding: To three tablespoonfuls of dried sturgeon-roe, three equal quantities

of flour were added. These were boiled together without seasoning. When cooled, the eggs expanded so that they sufficed as a meal for a large family.

Roe Dumplings: To dried roe boiling water was added until the eggs became of a doughy consistency. Then the water was poured off into another dish, and the eggs kneaded with the fingers. Handfuls were dropped into boiling water and cooked. The water in which they were prepared made excellent soup.

Roe Cakes: To a quantity of dried roe, hot water was added until the eggs were of about the same consistency as dough. Salt and saleratus were used for seasoning, and the paste was kneaded and made into cakes which were patted into shape with the hands, and then baked. These cakes were often eaten with maple syrup or sugar.

Raw sturgeon-roe was kept until it turned black and smelled offensive. The eggs finally burst and fermented and made a dish very palatable, in spite of the disagreeable odor.

VOCABULARY

FISH (*Nämä'suk*)

- Miu'sa nomä'*kos*, brook trout.
*nomä'*ko*, lake trout.
oka'o, pike.
kinu'siu, pickerel.
miu'skinosiu, muscallonge.
*a*seku'n*, small-mouth bass.
*miúna*xé'kun*, large-mouth bass.
masai', gar.
osi'kumäk, eel.
ose'neman, red horse.
nomä'pin, red sucker.
apé's nomä'pin, black sucker.
näku'ti, sunfish.
*mä'*kwunäku'ti*, red and black gilled sunfish.
sipi'a näku'ti, rock bass ('river sunfish').
sasaki'sakwún, silver bass.
*na*kä'sük*, herring (pl.).
*tä'*komik*, whitefish.
nämä'o, sturgeon.
isa'wäo, yellow perch.
tcitcëke'kuwânum, 'dogfish.'
wâ'seo, catfish.
wâsc'sê, bullhead.

TORTOISES

- Mätc mikä'nâ, ukwema'uwinini*, or *mi'shikäo*, snapping turtle.
*nokä'*kinau*, soft turtle.
su'kwuso, painted ('margined') turtle.
waweno'sikäo, musk turtle ('fire-maker').
posa'kato, sculptured turtle.

AND MONOGRAPHS

CANOES AND FISHING TACKLE

- Me'tigos*, log canoe.
wiki'hos, birch-bark canoe.
ane'pos, elm-bark canoe.
pi, paddle.
wasū'kon, jacklight for deer or fish.
pimi'eta'nau, cross-bar on canoe for attaching jack.
nutcimu'hakwūn, fish-spear.
muski'wus, medicine to attract fish.
an'ti, fish-spear shaft.
ahe'ntawūkon, slow-match of cedar-bark for the jacklight.
osauwa'pa ko^xkan, copper fishhook.
osauwa'pa natcima'hāgwan, copper fish-spear.
nā'mä's a'nūp, gill-net (also called *pitaha'-tcikūn*, 'trap' or 'entangler').

V. MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION SIGNS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE TRAIL

HE TRAIL and the lake or the river were *par excellence* the Indian highways. The trail, as has been mentioned previously, was once systematically blazed in times of peace. But at all times it had its perils, from wild animals, from lurking foes, or from those creatures of the imagination which take shape from the fear of the unknown. A journey, to a barbaric people, was an occasion of prayer to the deities.

A BELIEF IN GHOSTS

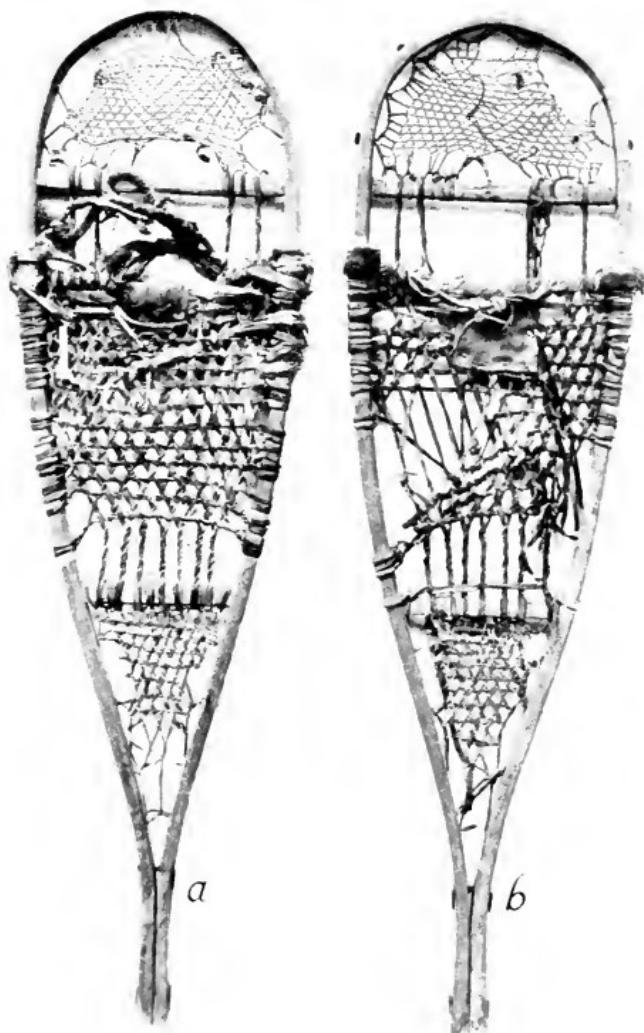
While traveling at night Indians sometimes see, meet, or are followed by ghosts. The spirits may attempt to force the Indians to accompany them as they roam about, but this can be prevented by tearing off a piece of a rag, or even of one's clothes, burn-

ing it to ashes and rubbing these on the forehead. The smell of the ashes is not obnoxious to the spirits, but makes them think any one with this odor is one of themselves, and they accordingly leave him alone.

It is said that when a mother who has a child that is as yet too young to talk is molested by a ghost, coming to steal away her babe, during the night, she may drive away the marauder in the same manner. If she has to travel after dark, she places the mark on the child before starting. If these precautions are not taken, the child is sure to pine away and die within a year.

PABOKOWÄ'Ô

Pabokowä'o (plural *pabokowä'wûk*), meaning "intermittent noise," are a kind of spirits that dwell in lonely places and frighten travelers by their eerie cries. They were not further described by the elders, but I am inclined to identify them with the eastern Ojibwa or Mississauga goblin *Pabokowai*, who seems to have been represented in ceremonies by a false-face, or



SNOWSHOES



PACK-SADDLE WITH CARVED POMMEL
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

mask, of carved wood, similar to that employed by the Iroquois. The false-face represents the god that banishes disease. Though mentioned and figured by the Rev. Peter Jones in his History of the Ojebway Indians, explanatory data are lacking. It was collected later by Mr M. R. Harrington for the American Museum of Natural History, and is again figured and described in his Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape Indians, in this series.

EQUIPAGE

The article of manufacture most indispensable for overland travel has already been described in the section on Menomini dress. The native moccasin was more important, to the Woodland Indian especially, than the acquired European horse; for most of his journeys were made on foot. But in winter, when the forest trail gave place to the untracked, drifted snow, and river and lake were frozen, in addition to the moccasin the snowshoe was donned.

SNOWSHOES

Four types of snowshoes are recognized and made by the Menomini. They are called pointed or *kaka'škikwûkemûk*; cat-fish-shape or *wase'uawakemûk* (pl. xli); oval or "bear's-foot"-shape (generally used only as a makeshift, and made of a rough net of basswood-bark over a hastily prepared framework) known as *wawe'ätukima'nûk*; and "knee-shape" or *otci'kwunîkemûk*, so called because the forward end is supposed to conform with the transverse outline of the doubled knee. The generic term for snowshoes is *a'kemûk*:

HORSE TRAPPINGS

At the present time the Menomini do not use toboggans, sledges, or travoix. The horse has long been accessible to the tribe, and while they have developed its culture less than any of the other Central peoples, still they have acquired a number of its more widely distributed features. Pack-saddles made of wood covered with rawhide of buffalo or of cattle are common. Sometimes the pommel is carved to represent the

head of a horse (pl. XLII) or a woodchuck. The Indians also delight in adorning these saddles with brass-headed tacks.

For bridles, a short rope twisted around the lower jaw of the steed is said to have sufficed. I have never seen the Menomini use or possess any true saddle-bags. Belongings to be transported are usually packed in yarn bags, tied to the pack-saddle. Sometimes a saddle-blanket is improvised by cutting a large yarn bag open at the ends, and spreading it out. A horse is called *päskigo'kesi"* ('single hoof') in Menomini, a name possibly derived from the term used by the neighboring bands of Potawatomi and Ojibwa.

BURDEN-STRAPS

Burden-straps, but not burden baskets, are used by the Menomini. The burden-strap consists of a piece of heavy tanned leather, about two feet long and three or four inches broad, which is intended to run across the forehead or the chest. To this strap, which bears the strain, a thong is fastened at each end. These thongs, each

about six feet in length, are intended for lashing about the burden. Straps of this nature among the Menomini and their northern Algonkian neighbors are strictly utilitarian, and are never in any way ornamented, in contrast with those of the Delaware and the Iroquoian tribes. An example in the writer's possession, once the property of the famous chief Oshkosh, is as unattractive as any owned by the poorest of his followers. The native name for a burden-strap is *ape'xkon*.

CRADLES

A child's carrying-board or cradle (*like'-nagûn*) is shown in pl. XLIII, and in pl. XLIV a woman in the act of carrying a child on her back in a similar contrivance. So well known and widely distributed among the Woodland tribes is this portable cradle that it needs no detailed description here. The Menomini form consists of a board back, with shallow detachable sides and a foot-rest. A wooden bow projects over the head to support a shade or canopy and to



CHILD'S CARRYING-BOARD OR CRADLE



CARRYING A CHILD IN A CRADLE

prevent injury to the baby in case the cradle should fall.

The child is held fast by wrapping or tying its little body in with a long strip of cloth, the outer side of which usually bears beaded decorations (pl. LXXVIII, *b*). From the bow in front are suspended strings of beads, bells, thimbles, and if the child is a boy, miniature weapons. For a girl, a doll, a wooden spoon or similar articles are substituted.

When not carried by its mother, the baby, cradle and all, may be suspended from a rafter or the bough of a tree, or leaned against a bench, a stone, or some convenient stump. The child usually remains on the cradle-board until at least two years of age, not only for convenience in transportation, but for the purpose of making the back straight. Little girls can often be seen with toy cradles of this sort, containing their dolls. (For further details concerning children and their care, the reader is referred to the writer's paper on Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles of the Menomini Indians.¹²)

CANOES

For water transportation, canoes are used. These are of two types, the log canoe, or *mê'tigos*, which is still used, and the now obsolete birch-bark canoe, which is termed *wiki'hos*. The last birch-bark canoe to be found in the tribe was collected by the writer in 1910 for the American Museum of Natural History, where it is now preserved (pl. XLVI). It was carried by its owner from his home to Keshena, a distance of several miles, and on account of its lightness, necessitated no stops for rest (pl. XLV). It is related by the elders that elm-bark canoes (*ane'pos*) were once used.

BIRCH-BARK CANOES

The making of a birch-bark canoe was a laborious process, usually accomplished by a group of several families, who held a boat-building "bee," late spring being the season usually chosen. After meeting and making the camp, the men of the party set out in the early morning to select suitable birch trees and gather the bark, which was removed in sections four feet long by three

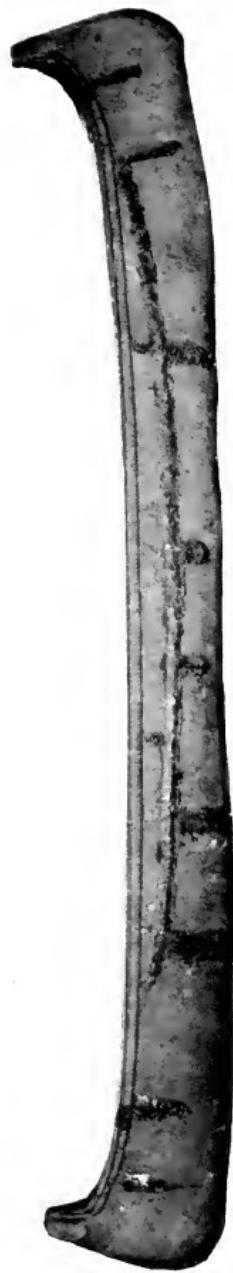
to four feet broad, cut as nearly square as possible. This task sometimes required as much as two days, for several trees of the proper size had to be found, and these were not common. The bark also had to be thick, and the trees straight with few limbs. When a birch that had all these qualifications was located, the direction in which it was desirable to fell it was decided on. Other trees were then cut to fall at right angles across the field where it was to lie. The birch was felled across and on them, that it might be elevated from the ground and the bark thus more easily stripped from it. Bark sufficient to cover a canoe of average size, that is, at least four "armspreads" long, was required. This unit of measurement, called *niku'tina* in the vernacular, is the distance between the outstretched fingertips of the right and the left hands, when the arms are held out horizontally. When the bark was brought back by the men, the women took a large kettle and poured boiling water on it to soften it. It was then rolled up in large packages to be stored in the shade until needed. Possibly my in-

formant, the late Indian Court Judge John Perrote, who had not assisted in canoe making since he lived at Fond du Lac on Lake Winnebago before the Menomini went on their present reservation, may have erred in this last detail. Birch-bark is more easily rendered pliable by heating before the fire than by wetting.

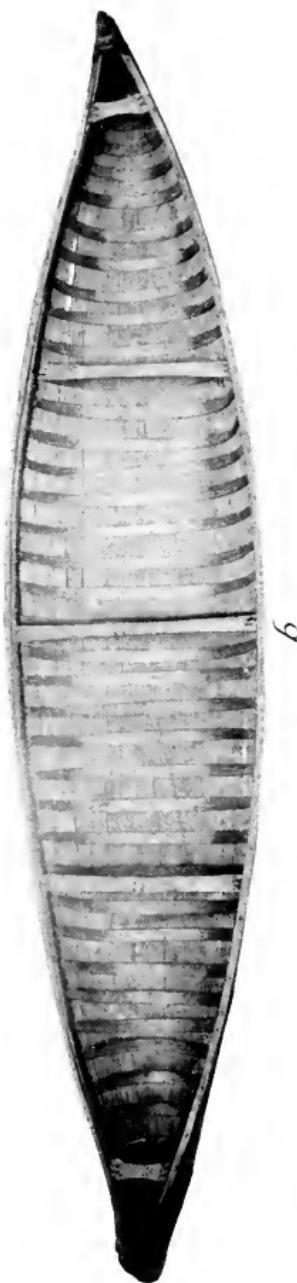
During the first day, while the men were gathering bark, the women employed themselves in collecting stringy pine-roots (*wata'p*), which they split, made into coils, and placed in water to soak. The next morning the men again repaired to the woods, this time to search for cedar from which to make the framework of the canoe. A tree having been selected and felled, it was split and examined to see if the grain was straight; if not, another had to be found. From this wood the thin lath-like inner sheathing for the canoe (pl. XLVI, b) was made. These strips, called *ana'kianûk* ("mats"), but with the animate plural suffix, were cut very thin, almost like paper, and were made in ten-foot lengths, and from three to four



PORTRAGING A BIRCH-BARK CANOE



a



b

BIRCH-BARK CANOE
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

fingers broad. Cross-ribs, called *pekü'kúnük* ("ribs"), were also made.

While the men cut out the sheathing and the framework, a task which lasted a day or more, the women, beginning in the afternoon, sewed the sections of bark together. Two women sat on the ground facing each other, with two sections of bark between them. Lapping the ends of the pieces over, one woman made holes through the bark with an awl of bone or of metal, at short regular intervals, while the other pushed the flexible *wata'p* thread through the perforations. When the sections were sewed across, both pulled vigorously to straighten them.

The day after the men returned with the cedar, they took an old canoe, and, using it as a pattern, drove stakes in the ground around it, to make a structure of the same shape as the boat. These falsework stakes are called *je'pata'iwün* ("elevated tie stakes"). Around the inside of the top the gunwale (*minak*, "frame") was attached. This part of the work had to be completed by noon, so that the canoe could be finished by dark; otherwise the bark warped. Along

the gunwale six or more places were marked for attaching thwarts. These were three or four feet apart in the case of the larger lake-going canoes, and less for ordinary craft, or for the diminutive one-man variety.

Broad thwarts were made for the center portions, narrow ones for the ends, but these were temporarily supplied by false cross-pieces, while temporary ribs were added. Now eight men went to work on the frame, four at the bow, and four at the stern. The bark covering, sewed in a single sheet, was passed under the frame with great care, and smoothly shaped. Then it was sewn fast to the gunwale with *wata'p*. The cross-ribs, three or four fingers broad, were soaked in hot water to soften them, and were then laid in, about eighteen inches apart (pl. XLVI, b). These were called *mitcimi'skotcinanak*, "holding down" or "holding out pieces." The temporary ribs and thwarts were next removed, and real thwarts were sewed in. Perhaps at this stage thin, flat, oval boards were inserted as spreaders, set perpendicularly in the bow and the stern of the canoe to hold out the

bark. The tops of these projecting above the gunwales were ornamentally carved. The bow and the stern, which were left to the last, were next sewed by the women, with great care, and the rough edges were trimmed with a knife. The upturned tips at both ends were not yet attached, but it was imperative that the work up to this point be completed without stopping, lest the bark warp.

Next day the inner sheathing was put in, pieces of three fingers' width alternating with those of four fingers. As usual, these were first wet with hot water to render them flexible. They are said to have been difficult to adjust at the noses, where they came together, as they often cracked. Cracked sheathing was discarded and new selected. The sheathing was sometimes made double.

The following day the women arose early to see that the seams were calked before the dawn wind should scatter coals and sparks from the fires over which they boiled their gum, as birch-bark is highly inflammable. The noses were first sewed to the



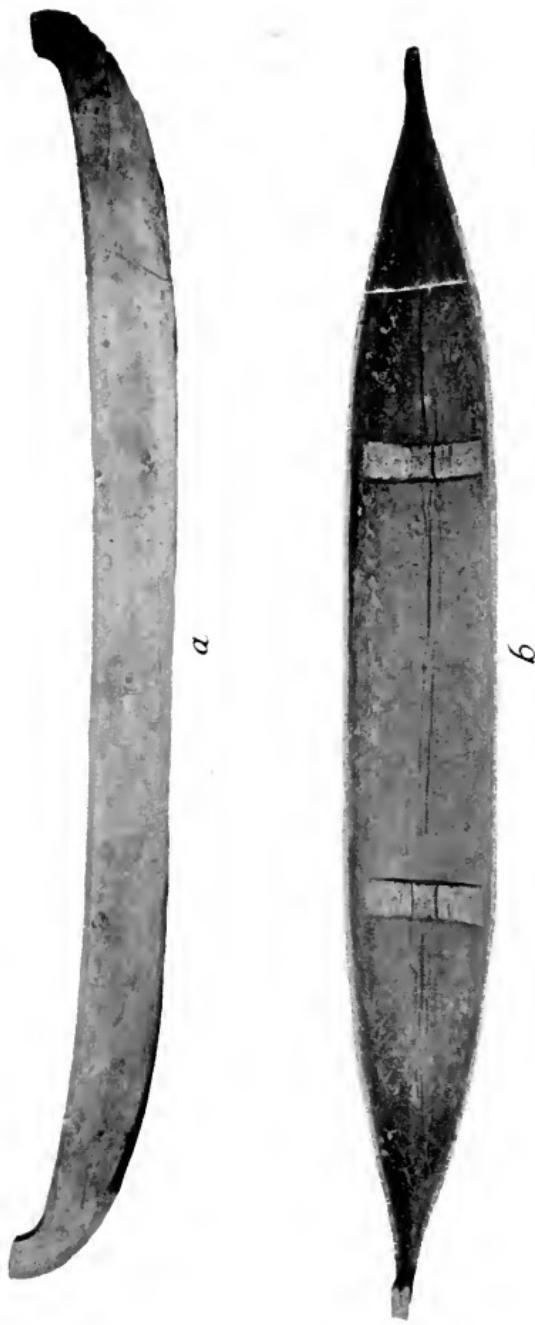
FIG. 15.—
Typical canoe
paddle.

body of the canoe with colored *wata'p*. The canoe then was taken from its frame and inverted. The seams were covered with narrow strips of fiber or of cloth, and the gum of pitch (*anämimita'wük*), colored black with birch-bark charcoal for ornamental effect, was used to calk them. A small wooden paddle was utilized to apply the pitch, which could not be laid on until cooled enough not to burn the bark.

Sometimes men painted eyes on the bow and the stern of the canoe so that it "could see where to go," or added some fancy device. With this, the craft was completed (pl. XLVI, a).

LOG CANOES

Log canoes (pl. XLVII) are hollowed with metallic adzes from basswood or cedar, and



LOG CANOE OR DUGOUT
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



CUTTING THE HAIR FROM DEERSKIN

their making is also a tedious process, even with these improved implements. For further details as to canoes and their uses, the reader is referred to pages 185, 208, in the section on fishing and hunting. A typical paddle, $5\frac{1}{4}$ ft. in length, is shown in fig. 15.

VI. HANDICRAFT TANNING

PREPARATION OF THE SKIN



IN REMOVING furs the Menomini hunter commences when the carcass of the animal is yet warm, if possible, by cutting the skin along the inside of the hind legs and across the anus, making a single transverse slit. The hind quarters and the tail are first skinned, the work then proceeding toward the head. When removed, the skin is turned inside out and stretched over a wooden frame.

In skinning large mammals, such as deer, elk, moose, and buffalo, when possible a quantity of grass or hay is first spread on the ground to keep the carcass from contact with the earth. Cuts are made around the knee-joints of all four legs. The inner surfaces of the hind quarters are then cut along a transverse line which crosses the anus; a

similar cut is made under the forelegs and across the breast, and a third from the point of the lower jaw longitudinally down neck and belly to the anus.

In removing the hide the knife is little used after the initial cutting is finished, except for taking off the thick skin of the neck. The hide is loosened by thrusting the fist between it and the flesh, or, on the neck, by tugging with both hands while bracing against the carcass with the feet. As above noted, this work is most easily accomplished while the animal is still warm.

TANNING FUR

For tanning skins with the hair on, the skin is first scraped. The brains and liver of the animal are then applied to the inner or fleshy surface of the green hide, and worked in with the hands until the entire skin is saturated. The pelt is then warmed before the fire and softened by rubbing with a small tool of wood or of bone. Herbs and roots are also sometimes applied, in solution, to render the fur proof against moths.

LEATHER MAKING

In tanning deerskin without the hair, the green hide may be treated at once, or allowed to dry hard and wait indefinitely. In the latter case, it is necessary first to soak the skin until it is pliable, after which it is hung over the smoothed upper end of a log set obliquely into the ground, so that the raised end is about waist-high.

The hair is then cut down to about a quarter of an inch in length by means of a sharp knife (pl. XLVIII) and the hide is again soaked, usually over night. The next step brings the hide back to the slanting log (pl. XLIX), where both the hair and the subcutaneous tissue are scraped off with an edged implement, shaped like a draw-shave, and called a "beaming tool" (fig. 16). At present these implements are of wood, provided with a metallic blade, but in former times they were made from cannon-bones of deer. The example figured is 15 in. long.

The hide is next washed, wrung out, and stretched on a rectangular wooden frame by



SCRAPING THE DEERSKIN WITH A BEAMING TOOL



WRINGING THE DEERSKIN

means of leather thongs, or cords woven of basswood fiber, and tightened by wooden pegs, or, more usually, by the unworked toe-bones of the black bear, used as tourniquets. Both sides of the skin are now carefully rubbed and saturated with a mixture of deer's brains applied with the hands.

The skin is next soaked in a tub containing a small quantity of water. It is then



FIG. 16.—Beaming tool for scraping deerskin. (Length, 15 in.)

wound around a small sapling and wrung dry by twisting it with a stick about three feet in length (pl. L). This is followed by working and stretching it with the hands and feet (pl. LI), after which it is washed in clean, fresh water.

The hide is next stretched again on the frame with strings and pegs, and is rubbed vigorously with a spatula of hard wood, a yard or less in length, and is also scraped with a metal scraper of chisel-like form.

This removes all the small particles of subcutaneous tissue that may remain, which are valuable as soup stock. Sometimes, if the skin has dried too rapidly, more water and brains must be applied.

When the hide is at last soft, white, and pliable, it is sewed up in the form of a bag with *wi'kop*, or raw basswood string, and a stick is thrust inside transversely to keep it open. A hole about a foot wide and six inches deep is dug in the earth in a locality sheltered from the wind, and a slow, glowing, smoky fire is made in the bottom of the pit with dead branches, punk, or even dry corncobs. Over this the inverted bag is suspended (pl. LII), and pegged down about the base. Care must be taken to prevent the fire from blazing up and burning the hide, and also to prevent the smoke from becoming too thick, lest the skin be darkened too deeply. Shot holes are always sewed up before the hide is smoked; otherwise the fumes escape through these orifices, and the tanning is uneven.

Deerskins are not all alike in quality. Buckskin is thick, and is suitable for moccasins.



a



b

STRETCHING THE DEERSKIN BY HAND



SMOKING THE DEERSKIN

sins and mittens. Doeskin is best for leggings and shirts, while fawnskin is utilized for fancy work. Skins of unborn fawns are delicate, and require much care in their preparation. They are used as inner wrappers for war-bundles and other sacred articles. All deerskins are at their prime in the fall. Tanned skins were considered less valuable in the old days, if the tail with its fur had been removed.

VOCABULARY

Apä'sos o'küm, deer-hide.

kikawä'nükäsiu, fresh hide with the hair adhering.

tcisa'kwühikün, beaming tool, or dehairer.

tcisa'kwühikün a'tik, slanting log used to support the hide during the dehauling process.

nasiko'hikün, wooden spatula, a flesher.

usá'wikisua, the smoking process.

mänité, deer's brains, used in tanning.

minatükü'nún, stretching cords for spreading the skin to dry.

wíka'nük sminä'sít, pegs used to tighten the stretching cords, usually bones from the feet of the black bear.

mitíkwü'n minä'tcükwün, stretching frame.

o'wí'ksua, tanned skin.

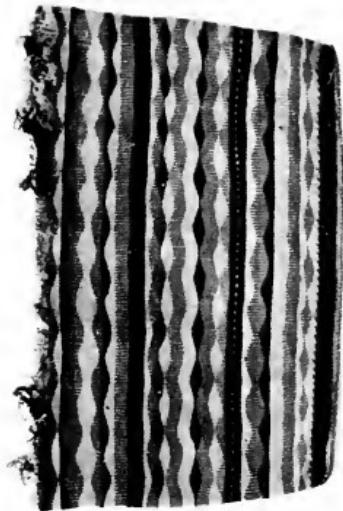
WEAVING

It is truly astonishing that the ability of the Woodland tribes in the matter of textile arts has been so little recognized by students. The cleverness displayed by the Menomini in these crafts is no doubt not greater than that of their Algonkian and Siouan neighbors, yet little has been recorded of it, outside of some casual and often incorrect notes published by Mason and others. In view of the fact that Mr William C. Orchard of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, has in mind a monograph which will cover the subject, nothing more has been done in the course of preparing this paper than to indicate some, by no means all, of the technics employed. Had the variety and complication of the textile art as it exists among the Menomini tribe been fully realized, no doubt more examples of their weaving might have been obtained in the field. The writer is indebted to Mr Orchard for the identification and the descriptions of the technics employed in the specimens used for illustration.

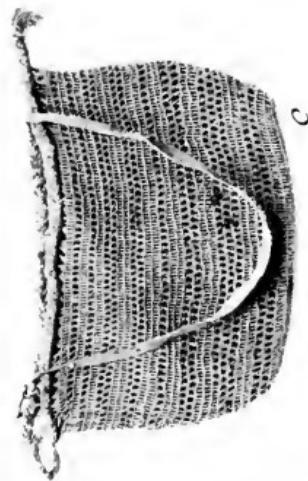


WOMAN WEAVING A YARN BAG

Photograph by courtesy of the Public Museum, Milwaukee



a



c



b

BAG OF CLOSED TWINED WEAVE AND HULLING-BAGS OF OPEN
TWINED WEAVE
Width of *a*, 28 in.

WOVEN BAGS

String bags woven of vegetal fiber and of the types so well known among the Central Algonkian and Southern Siouan tribes, were formerly possessions of every Menomini household, but are now rapidly becoming obsolete. The few that still exist are kept for the purpose of preserving sacred objects, and are generally made of modern commercial yarn. There are others, however, utilized for hulling corn, or for storing wild rice, which are more aboriginal in material.

The ordinary yarn storage-bag is woven between a frame of two sticks set vertically in the ground. The work is commenced at the upper edge, and the receptacle is woven downward (pl. LIII). This seems to have been the usual method employed throughout the woodlands. Oddly enough, the picture of a Virginia Indian woman given by Mason in fig. 148 of his monograph, *Aboriginal American Basketry*, and cited several times as illustrating an ancient style of weaving from the bottom upward, clearly

exemplifies the reverse of this process. The latter method is brought out also in the photographs reproduced in this paper.

The ancient materials used in weaving were bast string, yarn of buffalo wool, later displaced by blanket ravelings, and, in the case of bags for hulling corn or for storage (of different types from pouches) cedar-bark, and Indian hemp made of rotted nettle-fiber.

With regard to the technic employed in the weaving of Menomini storage-bags and pouches of basswood- or slippery-elm-bark fiber, an excellent description may be found in *Aboriginal American Basketry*. Mason says:

"Plate 131 represents an open twined wallet of the Ojibwa Indians (Algonquian stock), at Angwassag Village, near St. Charles, Saginaw County, Michigan. The native name is Na Moot and it is made from the inner bark of the slippery elm (*Ulmus Americana*). Other bags of the same technique in the U. S. National Museum are from the elm bark associated with red and black yarn. The technic of these wallets is so interesting in the survival of ancient weaves that they justify a special description. The west is plain twined weaving; all the ornamentation, therefore, is effected by

means of the warp, which is partly vertical, but more of the zigzag type seen in many Aleutian Island wallets. In all of the specimens examined the warp is made up of twine, partly in the materials of the weft and partly in colored yarns. The diameter of the warp twine, especially the yarns, seems to be greater than the length of the twists in the weft, so that there is a crowding which brings one color to the front, and leaves another color inside—that is, the figures that are brown on the outside will appear in yarn on the inside and the reverse. To be more explicit, beginning at the lower edge of any one of these wallets the warp may be in pairs, the elements of which separate and come together alternately in the rows of weaving. On the outside of the bag two elm-bark warp strands will be included and appear; in the next half twine two yarns will be included and show on the inside of the wallet. After this zigzag process goes on for a short distance the weaver changes her plan, omits the bark or the yarn warp altogether, but continues the twining process, catching the warp in every other half turn of the twine. Again, there will be a row or two of ordinary twined weaving with straight warp, when she returns to her zigzag method, covering the entire surface therewith. At the top of the bag an inch or less of plain twined weaving in which the warps are vertical and included in pairs brings her to the outer border, where all the warps are twisted together and turned back to be fastened off in the texture.

"The photographs of the twined bag shown in Plate 131 were taken by William Orchard, of

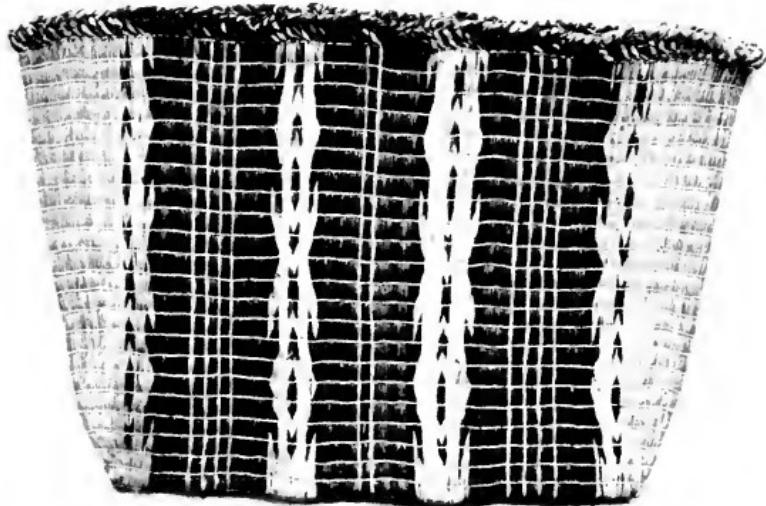
the American Museum of Natural History, and presented to the National Museum by Harlan I. Smith. On one side a mountain lion and on the other an eagle with geometric figures are shown in black. The technique of this particular example from left to right would be five vertical rows of plain twined weaving; nine rows of mixed warp, but plain weaving; a course of braided warp in which the four elements of two rows of warp are braided together and included in the twine. On the other side is a similar administration. The middle portion shows zigzag twined weaving, figured. Above this is a row of three-ply twined weaving, as among many of the western tribes; above this three rows of plain twined weaving in openwork including all the warps. At the top the warps are twisted and fastened into the texture. It must be clearly understood that the figures which show black on the outside—that is, the eagle and the lion—will be white on the inside, necessarily.”¹³

This type of weaving is the commonest among the Menomini, and bags of this kind have been seen by the writer among the Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Miami, Winnebago, Iowa, the “Santee” bands of the Dakota, and elsewhere.

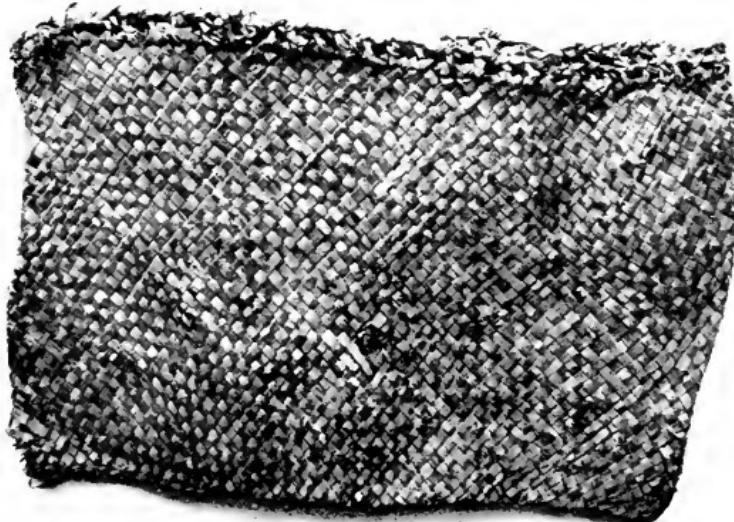
An example of a variety of closed twined weave is shown in pl. LIV, *a*. In this bag the warp-threads are of twisted basswood



BAG OF TWINED AND DIAGONAL TWINED WEAVING, OBVERSE
AND REVERSE
Width, 18 in.



a



b

WOVEN BAGS FOR STORAGE PURPOSES
Width, $23\frac{1}{4}$ in.

fiber, and the woof of various colored yarns. The method of weaving the design, which is of parallel horizontal groups of alternating concave and convex scallops, alternating in turn with plain straight bands, is complicated. For a description of the methods employed in the making of this and other bags figured here, the writer is indebted to the kindness of Mr William C. Orchard.

In the scalloped bands, the first line of the woof is a double strand of yarn brought across the figure from right to left, looping about each element of the warp as it passes and crossing between each warp strand. It crosses the figure and then the woof strands return. At the last turn before going back, they are twisted together and then divided in two parts, each half looping back singly in the opposite direction from that taken in the first course. This is done alternately until the figure is finished.

The plain horizontal bands are made by a simple, closely twined, horizontal weave, the woof yarns being in two or three strands. A third type of twined weave is found on the border.

A very remarkable piece of textile work well illustrating the resourcefulness of the Menomini artizan, is shown in pl. IV, in which Mr Orchard has been able to identify no fewer than six varieties of twined and diagonal twined weaving.

In pl. LVI, *a*, is shown a bag of basswood or cedar-bark fiber intended for storage purposes. It is made in a closely twined weave, and is a model of simplicity in technic. The woof-strands occur at intervals of about three-quarters of an inch apart, and the main body of the work is in the heavy, closely-placed warp. Bags woven in checkerwork from narrow strips of cedar-bark (pl. LVI, *b*) are also used for the same purpose. I have never seen one of these that bore an ornamental design. In former years cedar-bark strips were woven into mats in the same manner as that in which these bags were made, but they are now obsolete. Formerly some handsome mats were made in twilled weaving (see Hoffman's pl. XXII).¹⁴ Like the checkerwork mats, none have been seen for many years.

HULLING-BAGS

Two bags of cedar-bark fiber are shown in pl. LIV, *b*, *c*. These are designed to hold corn while it is being soaked to cleanse it after boiling in a solution of lye (hard-wood ashes) and water to loosen the hulls from the kernels. The technic of these bags is open twining. A fine example is figured in pl. LIV, *c*, which illustrates a hulling-bag of open twined weave in which the rows are alternated in uneven groups to make a decorative pattern. This is accomplished by crossing some sets of warp strands and leaving the next group parallel. At the top the warp threads are collected in groups of three and then braided together with the addition of some fiber to thicken the border. In the specimen under discussion the styles of weaving alternate in rows of two until near the top, where they run one row of each type for four rows, finished by two rows of parallel warp elements at the upper edge.

A second example of hulling-bag is presented in pl. LIV, *b*. This specimen is also

made in open twined weaving in a manner similar to the preceding save that all the warp elements are crossed except the top row on one side, and the two top rows on the other—the discrepancy being caused by the fact that the bag is woven spirally.

YARN SASHES

Sashes, *pa^xku'ūwute* (belt), are braided by hand in several styles. While colored yarns are now used for this purpose, bast may have been used in earlier days, and, when procurable, the wool of the buffalo. Pl. LVII, *a*, *b*, from field photographs by Dr S. A. Barrett, give a good idea of the process. Such sashes are worn by men around the waist, or across the shoulders, or are bound turban-wise about the brows. Women use small sashes as belts to hold up their skirts.

MATS

REED MATS

A certain species of reed, called by the Indian *bi'uskūn*, furnishes material for the mats used as covering for floor or bench, and for hanging on the inner wall of the lodge.

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a



b

WEAVING YARN SASHES

Photographs by courtesy of the Public Museum, Milwaukee



MAT IN PROCESS OF WEAVING

These mats are termed *ana'kian* (plural, *ana'kianûn*), and are made as follows:

The reeds grow in shallows where the water is two or three feet deep, and on sand-bars. They are ripe in June and July, when parties of women gather them in the same way in which they do cattails, wading out and thrusting their hands into the water in order to pull them up near the roots. The women select stalks evenly matched as to length and thickness, and fine or coarse according to the desired quality of the mat. They carry ashore the bundles of reeds that they have gathered and trim the ends roughly on the spot. The reeds are then taken home and thoroughly dried in the sun.

When dry, the stalks are taken in small quantities and tied on a board, one end of which is laid over a cross-piece supported by two uprights, the other end being placed in a kettle. Over the reeds is thrown, at intervals, a quantity of boiling water, until they are entirely scalded; a fact which can readily be noted as they change in color. The board then receives a fresh lot. After all the reeds are scalded they are drained

and again dried in the sun. They are much lighter in weight at the end of this process, and the worker ties them in bunches and stores them away in a place safe from mice and squirrels to await dyeing.

In preparation for this, the reeds are sorted and counted, so many for each shade, according to the design desired; the woman having previously calculated how many of each are needed to work out her pattern. They are first wet to render them pliable, and are then tied in round coils and boiled, each in its appropriate dye, after which they are left to soak all night that the color may saturate them and become set. To facilitate this they are weighted down beneath the surface of the liquid. In the morning the reeds are taken out, straightened, dried, and stored away.

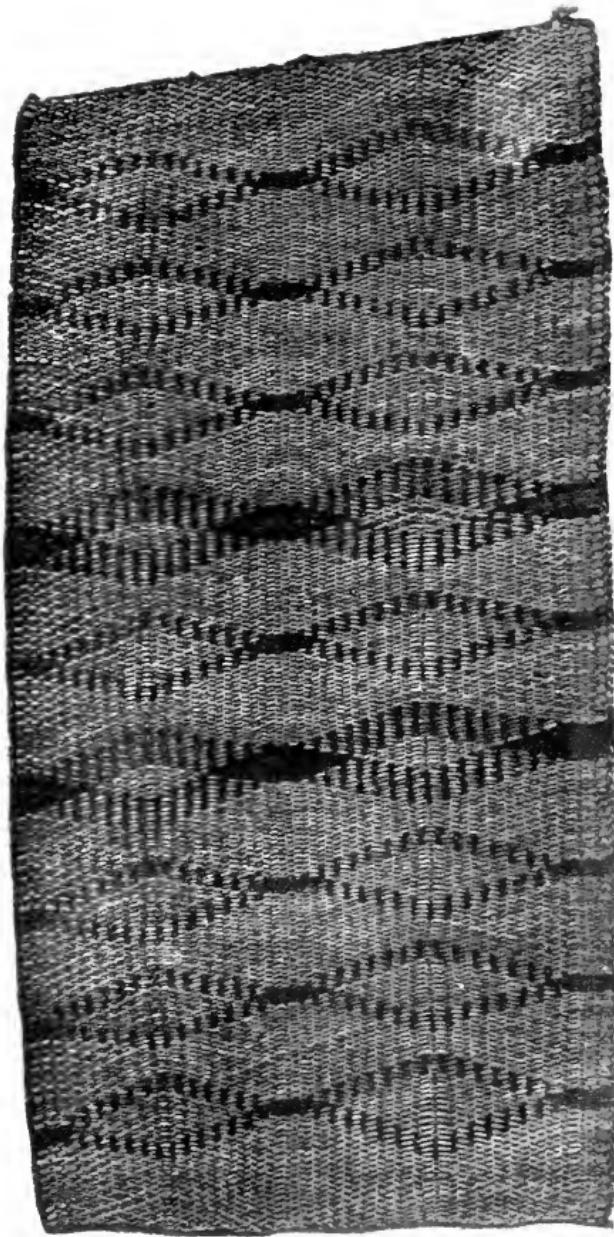
For the weaving a frame is made by driving two uprights into the ground six or eight or more feet apart, and lashing a horizontal bar to their tops with *wi'kop*. The reeds are then braided to form the upper edge of the mat, and, in doing this, a certain number of stalks is counted off here

and there to work out the design. The braided upper edge is now attached beneath the horizontal bar. The reeds are then pulled and twisted until they overlap, and the process of plaiting them together, backward and forward and from end to end, from the top downward is commenced (pl. LVIII). Sometimes several women work at once, each having previous knowledge of the proposed design. Because the reeds continually dry out as the work progresses, and become stiff and brittle, the women occasionally squirt a mouthful of water over them, just as a Chinese laundryman does to moisten his ironing. At the end of their task the border at the bottom is hemmed, and the rough ends are evened, doubled over, and a string sewn through them to hold them down.

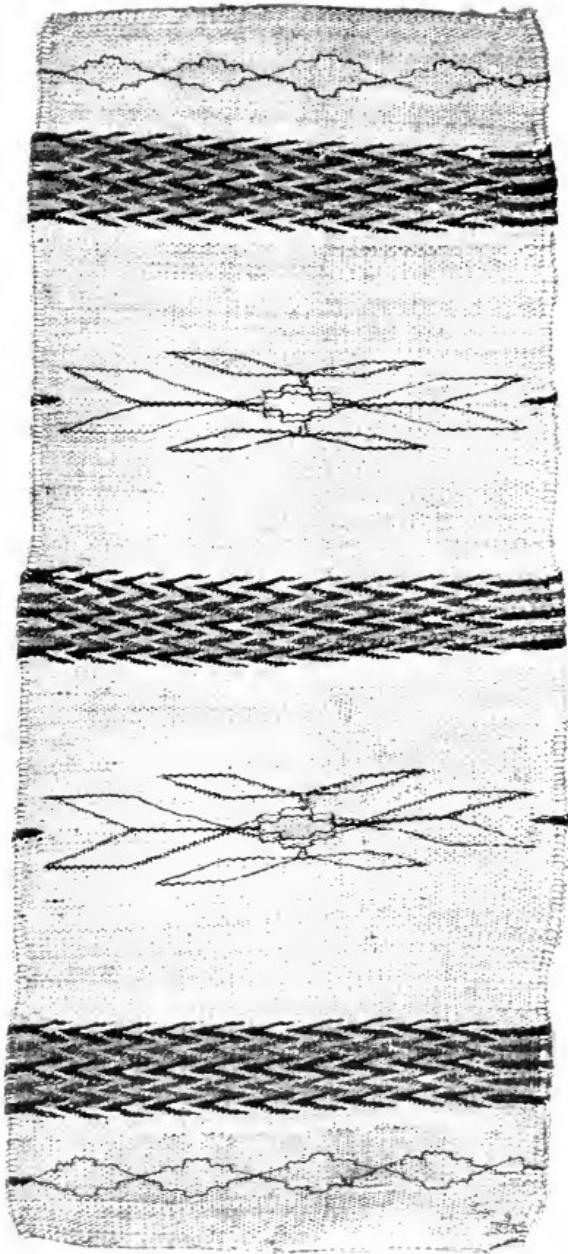
The designs on reed mats are generally geometric, but I have twice seen small ones used for wrapping war-bundles on which were woven conventional figures of the Thunderers. Old Menomini tell me that in former years those who had dreamed of various mythical monsters, such as the

Underneath Panther, sometimes wove their conventionalized shapes on mats. There is an example of this sort in the collection of this Museum, obtained by Mr M. R. Harrington among the Sauk and Fox. One mat of conventional floral design was secured from John Amob, by whose late wife it was made (pl. LX). The ornamentation is a rare one, which the writer has never seen duplicated. Amob used this article as a decorative hanging in his cabin, for handsome mats are thus employed even more frequently than as coverings for floor or bench. The old time checker and twilled weave mats of cedar-bark strips, now a thing of the past, were utilized in a similar manner.

Unfortunately, as is the case with the pouches of woven yarn or of string, it has never been realized how many ingenious and often complicated styles and techniques of weaving may be found among the mats of the Menomini and the other Central tribes, so that an insufficient number of examples are at hand for study. However, out of three specimens in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye



REED MAT OF DIAGONAL WEAVE, WITH LINKED DIAMOND DESIGN
Length, 5 ft., 6 in.



REED MAT OF OVER AND UNDER VERTICAL WEAVE, WITH FLORAL DESIGNS
Length, 7 ft., 5 in.

Foundation, Mr William C. Orchard was able to identify two different technics.

Two mats, one of which is shown in pl. LIX, are made in diagonal weave, with double or linked diamond design, the weave being selected apparently to facilitate the shaping of the pattern. This is doubtless a common type judging by other examples seen in the possession of the natives.

The other technic is a simple over-and-under vertical weave, as shown in pl. LX. The weft, as usual, is of bast, and the warp is of reeds. The broad, interlocked, serrated bands of decoration are formed by crossing the plain weft over the colored reeds, thus concealing them at intervals. The floral and geometric designs, in open work, not before noted by the writer on any specimen, are begun and ended at the opposing borders as weaving, but after running under the white background for two or three inches, are continued as embroidery. In considering these mats, it must be remembered that the weaver uses no tools.

MATS FOR COVERING HOUSES

As has already been remarked, the typical winter wigwam of the Menomini was semi-globular in shape, and was covered with mats made of cattail-flags. In the Menomini tongue the name for cattail is *u'pa^xki^ñk*, and thence the meaning has been extended to the mats, and finally to the lodges themselves, in popular parlance, although these are more correctly called *upa'^xki^wiko'n^ñk*, or "cattail-flag houses."

The work of preparing the mats is done entirely by the women, who gather the flags in the fall, during the months of October and November. In small companies they proceed to the sloughs, lake borders, and sink-holes, where the cattails grow. Although the Indians firmly believe that the presence of this plant always betrays the lair of a horned hairy snake beneath the water, the women bravely paddle out in their canoes, or wade in and pick the rushes, breaking them off under the surface close to their roots, where the plants are white and tender.

When sufficient flags have been collected,

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the gatherers go ashore and build a fire, around which they sit and trim them, cutting off the thick part of each near the base, and the narrow tips. The trimmed stalks are then carried home, and, when the weather is fine, are spread out to dry in the sun, after which they are laid away until it is convenient to make them into mats.

Before the reeds are ready for this final process, the outer rind must be peeled off, and the stalks again trimmed until they are of even length. The proper number are selected for the mat required, and are laid on the floor or on level ground in a row, side by side, with the ends reversed alternately. The ends on one side are then braided together over a cord of basswood-bark fiber. The worker next threads her bone mat-needle, a curved, flat instrument about a foot in length and half an inch in breadth, made of the rib of a buffalo or a cow (fig. 17), and sews the flags together. The thread is the customary basswood cord, and the sewing is begun about five or six inches from the braided ends of the

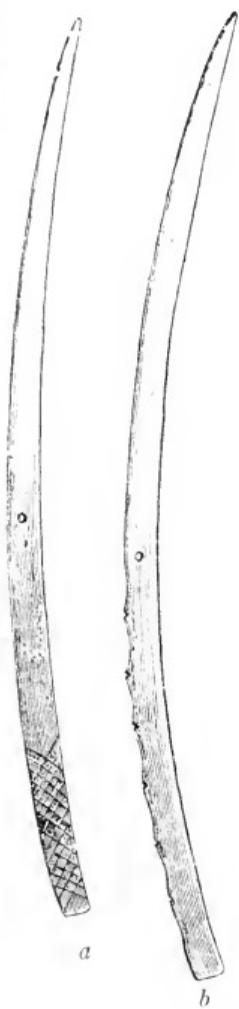


FIG. 17.—Needles made of the ribs of the buffalo. (Length of *a*, 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

rushes and carried across. It is repeated at intervals of the same distance until the entire mat is sewed. As roofing mats are always made double, in order to withstand rain and bad weather, the next procedure is to construct a second layer of flags. This is accomplished in the same way and the two layers are then braided together over a bark-cord foundation, along one side which has been left ragged for the purpose. In some cases sticks are tied or sewed across the ends to facilitate rolling up the mats for transportation. Cattail house-mats are made in several sizes, the largest being intended to enclose the circumference of the lodge at its base.

It is said that eight mats are required to roof the ordinary winter wigwam, including the little mat which slides back and forth over the smoke-hole, and another small one which covers the door. The remaining six are wrapped about the frame, three to a side.

Like everything else about the house, the mats are the peculiar property of the woman, and in traveling it is her duty to carry them, whereas it is the man's task to carry the clothes. Though bulky, the mats are not heavy. They are rolled up lengthwise, and the culinary utensils are placed inside. The whole is then made fast by lashings of *wi'kop*, or basswood-bark. The load is packed longitudinally on the woman's back, and is supported by means of two pack-straps, one around her waist, the other around her chest and shoulders. It projects far over her head, and gives her a remarkable appearance as she trudges along.

BARK MATS

Frequently alluded to in the foregoing paragraphs are mats made of strips of cedar-

bark woven in checker and twilled technic. These are now entirely obsolete, though still remembered, but were sometimes seen in Hoffman's day. This writer figures a handsome example in his monograph with the statement:

"Plate XXII represents an entire specimen, while in plate XXIII a section only is shown. They are made of the inner bark of the cedar, cut in strips averaging half an inch in width. Some of the mats are nearly white, others are colored dark red, and sometimes black, with native vegetal dyes. The decoration is effectively produced in diamond and lozenge patterns, as well as in zigzag lines, both by color and by the weaving of the weft strips, the latter being accomplished by taking up and dropping certain numbers of the warp strips."¹⁵

STRING

For many purposes, especially for emergencies in the forest, the Indian turns to the basswood sapling to supply him with cord. While it is always easy to peel off the bark of this tree in long strips, it yields more readily in the spring, when quantities are gathered for future use. In lesser amounts, however, it can always be had at a mo-



PREPARING BARK FOR STRING



ROLLING BARK FIBERS INTO TWINE

ment's notice. Having stripped off a long piece of the bark, the Indian cuts the outer rind slightly, and bends the bark at the cut until the rind projects enough to give him a grip with his fingers, or, more commonly, with his teeth. He then pulls off the outer layer and discards it. The inner bark, which is pliable, is ready for use without further preparation, except splitting it down to the desired size (pl. LXI). This is the famous *wi'kop*, the rough-and-ready cord of the forest. The process described is called *inokopä'keo ma'nikopi*, "gathering bark."

Balls of prepared twine made of cedar-, elm-, or basswood-bark are found in every well-regulated household, and are used for lashing, sewing, or as material for weaving bags. The manufacture of this twine is one of the duties of the women, who go to the woods and gather *wi'kop* in the manner described above. It is then made into coils, which are tied together to prevent unrolling, and taken home and boiled, some say with lye added to the water. The boiling process is finished when the fibers of the bark begin to separate and spread. It is

then taken out and dried. When thoroughly seasoned, it is cut into yard lengths and worked back and forth with the hands to break up the woody fibers and to detach them from one another. Sometimes this is accomplished by rasping the cooked bark through the hole in the pelvic bone or a crotch in the scapula of a deer or a bear. In this condition it is often stored away until convenient to proceed with the next step.

In the evenings, when the family gathers round the fire, is the favorite time for twisting twine. The woman sits down, pulls up her skirt, and removes one legging. She takes two of the fibers in one hand, and holds them, spread a few inches apart, against her bare shin. She slides the palm of her other hand backward and forward over them until the fibers twist together (pl. LXII). At the end of each yard she combs the fibers with her fingers, selects two more, and rolling half an inch of their ends with the ends of the old piece, makes a splice so perfect that it is invisible. As the twine is made, it is wound into a ball,

until all the material has been used. The pelvic bone of a deer or a bear is then tied firmly to a wigwam pole or an upright stake, and the string rasped through to make it even. The finished twine is again carefully wound in balls and put away. Nettles are rotted in order to obtain the inner fiber which is made into twine for weaving bags.

In addition to cords of vegetal substance, leather thongs are commonly utilized. A small piece of deerskin is taken and a narrow strip cut round and round the edge in a continuous piece, until a long cord is obtained.

VARIETIES OF STRING

Pa^xku'tcian, basswood string, twisted, used principally for sewing bulrush mats.

wi'kop ka'kop, *onä'hotäo*, basswood-bark string, braided.

nu'ki kopi'täo, basswood inner bark, boiled and shredded, ready to make into string.

müs^uku'^uta pishä'ki^u we'nä^xnun onä'hotäo, braided buffalo-hair string or yarn.

sä''nup, Indian hemp string.

apä''sos o'kûm käko'pian, buckskin thong.

apä''sos o'kûm napi''kwûn, deerskin thong, cut fine, for sewing with an awl.

a^xta^x, or *apä'sos a^xta^x*, deer-sinew used as thread.
a^xta^x onä'hotäo, braided deer-sinew.

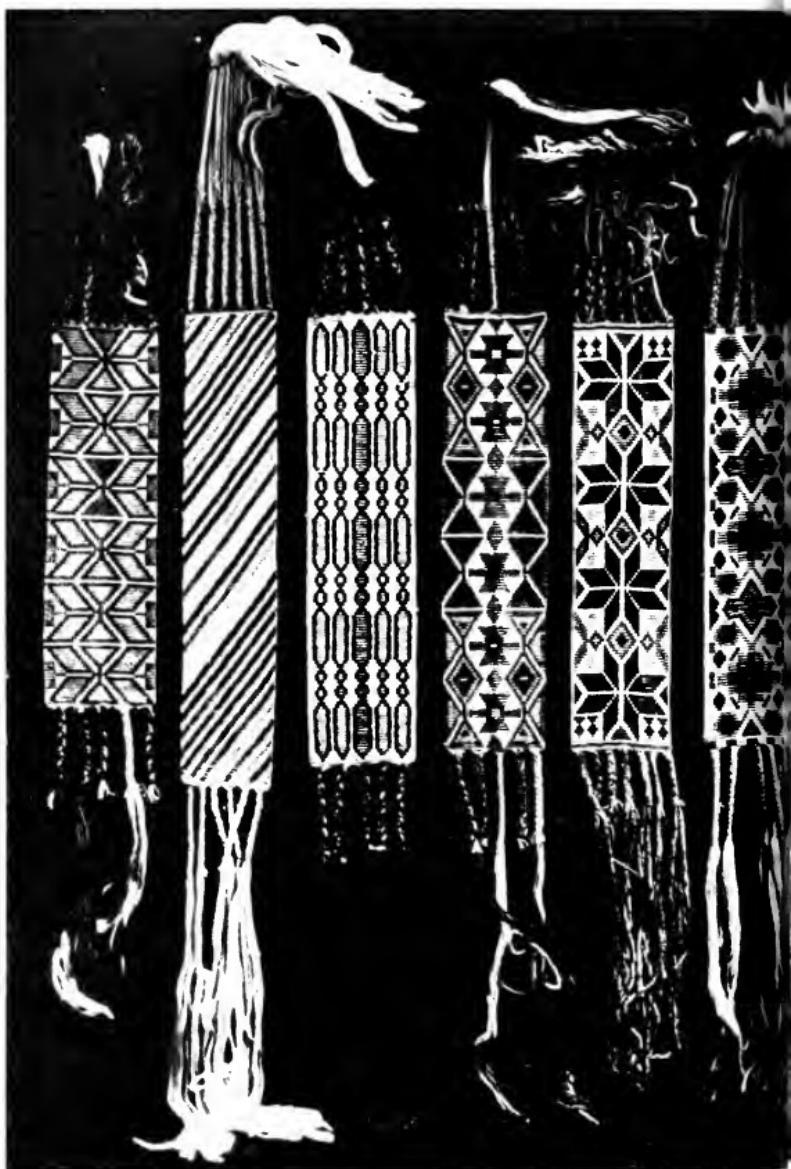
WOVEN BEADWORK

The description of Menomini beadworking by Hoffman is well worth repeating here:

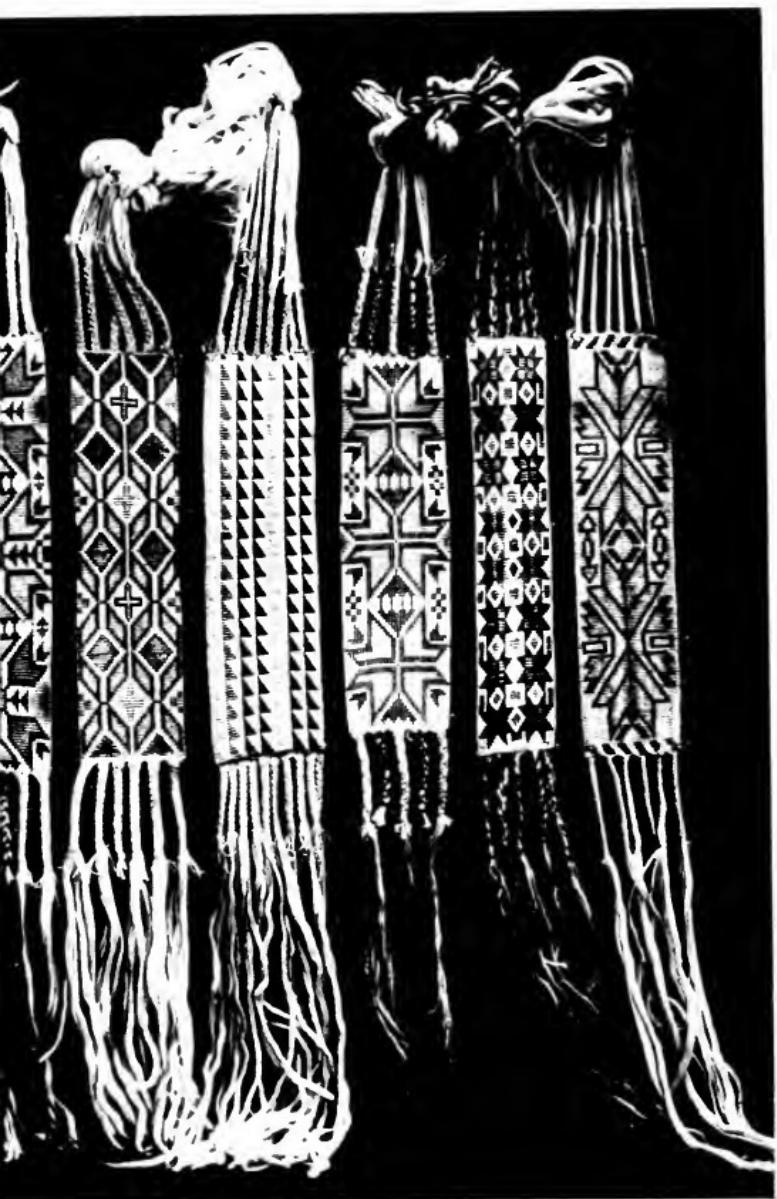
"After deciding on the article to be worked—a garter, for example,—a frame of wood is made sufficiently large to extend from 4 to 6 inches beyond the finished piece. Figure 45 represents a frame of this character. The pieces of wood are usually of pine, 2 inches broad and from a half- to three-fourths of an inch thick, made rigid by screws or thongs, where the pieces intersect. Threads of linen are then wrapped vertically over the top and bottom, each thread being a bead's width from the next. In some instances, as will be referred to later, the threads are wrapped so as to run by pairs. These form the warp. The number of threads depends on the width of the proposed design.

"The pattern is begun at the lower end, several inches from the frame. A fine needle is threaded, the other end of the fiber being secured to one of the lateral threads of the warp; then the needle is passed through a bead of the desired tint of the ground color of the garter, and the thread passed under one vertical or warp cord; another bead is then taken up, after which the needle is pushed along over the next cord; and then another bead being threaded, the needle is again passed along under

SKINNER — MENOMINI MATERIAL CULTURE



GARTERS OF W
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BEADWORK

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the next following cord, and so on alternately above and beneath the warp cords until the other side is reached, when the outer cord is merely inclosed by one form. The same process is followed in the return to the side from which the beginning was made, except that the threads alternate, the woof being now above instead of below the warp cords. Figure 46 represents the process described.

"The chief difficulty which one encounters is in remembering the exact point at which a new pattern should appear, as the color of the bead required for this must be inserted at the proper time and the number of spaces carefully counted and reserved for use as the pattern is developed. When the design is completed, the warp-cords are gathered by bunches of two's or three's and tied in knots, so as to prevent the dislodgment of the woof fibers and the consequent destruction of the entire fabric. To these ends are afterwards attached strands of woolen yarn to lengthen the garter, so as to reach around the leg and admit of tying in a bowknot.

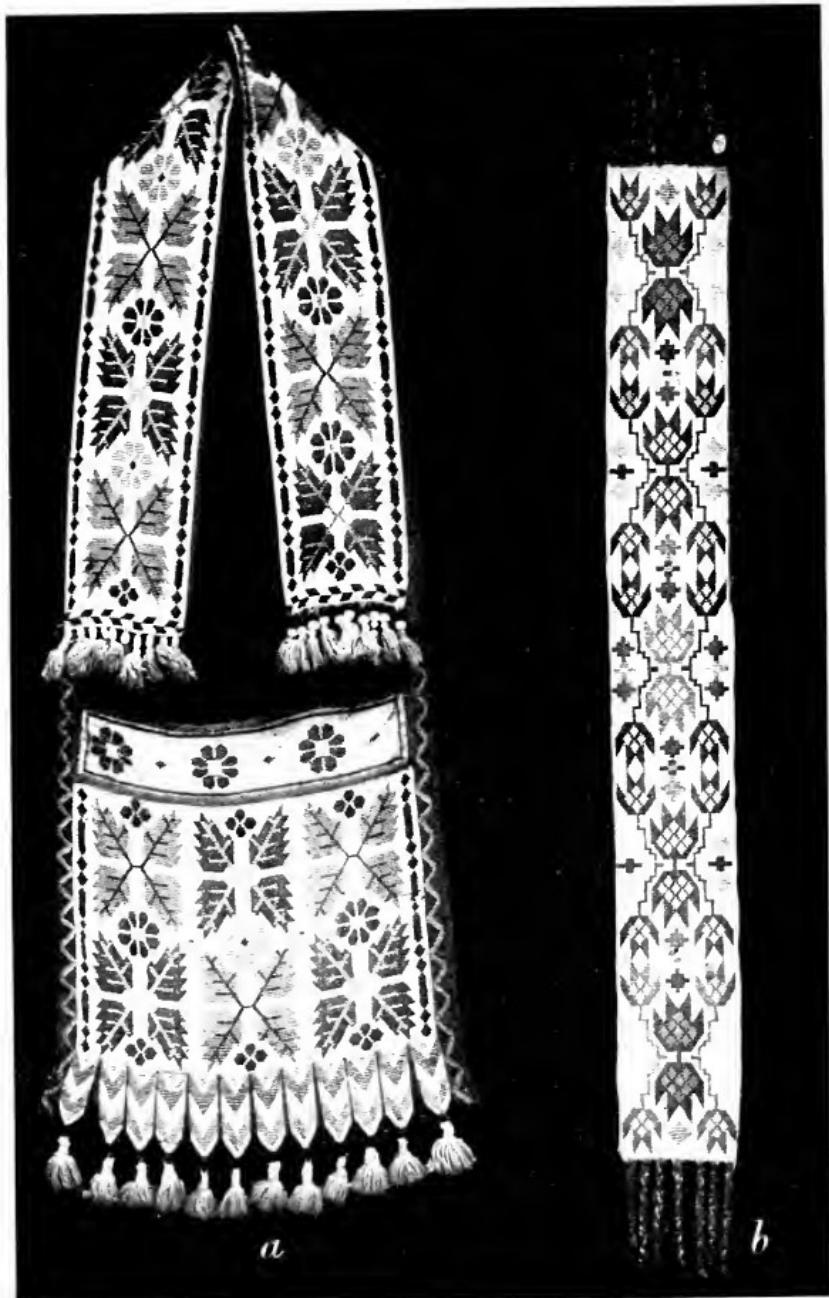
"The above illustrates the simplest method of working beads. The type of beadworking shown in figure 47 is a little more complicated. In this there are two vertical warp cords or threads between each two beads, there being an alternate movement of the pair of warp cords backward and forward, thus making it similar in appearance to the preceding pattern, excluding the beads, when the latter are placed sidewise.

"The woof thread is run to the side of the garter, and a bead is then passed through and returned in the next upper space, where another

row of beads is taken up to continue the design. When the opposite border of the garter is reached, a single bead is again threaded and permitted to extend as a projection to guard the external warp threads against injury.

"A third variety of beadwork is effected by using the vertical warp cords as before, but instead of passing the threaded needle through one bead at a time, whenever a vertical thread is passed, the necessary number of beads required to reach across the pattern, as well as the proper arrangement of colors to carry out the design, are threaded and laid down on the warp so that each bead falls within its proper space; then, as the lateral thread is inclosed by the weft thread, the needle is passed back through the same row of beads, but this time beneath the warp instead of above, thus entirely inclosing the weft. This requires a delicate needle and a fine though strong thread. This variety of beadwork is usually found only in garters, whereas the other two forms occur in almost all other kinds of bead objects, such as the sheets used in making medicine bags, in collars, baldrics, belts, and narrow strips, the two ends being fastened together by tying or otherwise. The cord itself is then decorated with beads by simply threading on a single fibre and wrapping this about the primary piece from one end to the other. By a little care in the proper selection and arrangement of colors, very pretty effects are produced.

"Beads are stitched on clothing, moccasins, etc., by simply threading one or more beads on the needle and sewing them down along the outlines marked on the outside and afterward



BANDOLEER AND BAG OF WOVEN BEADWORK, AND BEADED
BELT

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BANDOLEER AND BAG OF WOVEN BEADWORK
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the inside of the article which it is designed to ornament.

"As a rule, the ends of the pieces of beadwork are at right angles to the direction of the warp, but in many small examples, such as collars or necklaces, the ends terminate diagonally, an effect produced by the successive rows containing one or two beads less than the preceding row, the diagonal side being on one side of the article only, and not divided so as to turn toward a central apex by simultaneously leaving off one or more beads on both sides.

"In the third variety of bead-weaving there are only single vertical threads between each two beads as in the first named, but the cross-threads forming the woof are double instead of single, and as the threads pass through the bead they diverge so as to inclose the warp, after which they again unite to pass through the next bead. The lateral edges of the garter may be smooth or beaded—that is, the threads may either simply inclose the outside vertical thread and return to take up the next upper row of beads, or they may pass through one bead and then return on the next line. The object of the lateral beads, which project edgewise, is for the same purpose as that mentioned in connection with the second class of weaving.

"Dance bags—so called because they are ornamental and worn chiefly by well-to-do Indians at dances—are made of a piece of cloth or buckskin about 15 inches square, from the two upper corners of which a continuous band or baldric, 4 or 5 inches broad, extends upward so as to pass over the shoulder opposite the side on which the bag is worn. The entire piece

of material is covered by a sheet of beadwork, bearing designs similar to those on the garters, though frequently more elaborately combined or grouped. The flat part of the bag contains a very narrow slit for a pouch, the latter being often no larger than a vest pocket.

"A medicine man considers himself fortunate if he owns one of these bags. The ordinary number worn by the mitä'wok is three or four, part of them being worn at the left side, the others at the right. Sometimes a dozen such bags are worn by a single individual, beside other bead ornaments consisting of necklaces, breast-pieces, garters, armlets, etc., until the weight of the decorations causes him considerable inconvenience in these prolonged ceremonies."¹⁶

DESIGNS

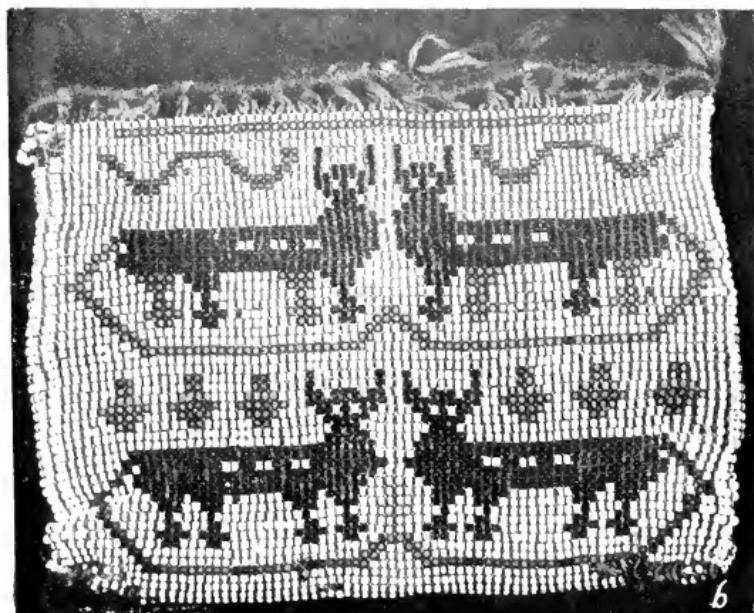
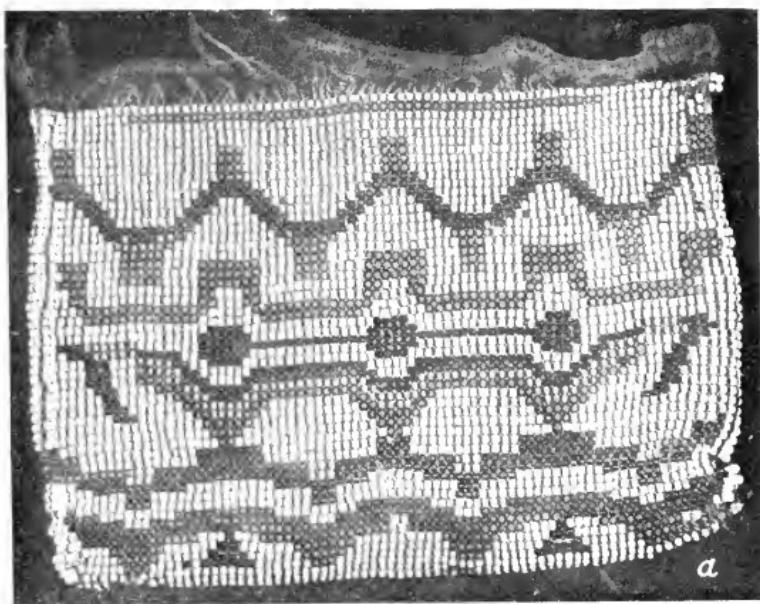
Woven glass-bead belts, garters, bando-leers, and small pouches are made by the native women, and are among the most beautiful embellishments of this nature found among the Woodland Indians, being surpassed, if at all, only by those of the Winnebago.

These articles were formerly adorned by the Menomini with somewhat conventionalized floral designs, often showing the double-curve motive found in quill and bead embroidery in which inward-turning



BANDOLEER AND BAG OF WOVEN BEADWORK

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



BEADED MEDICINE POUCH, SHOWING ANIMAL DESIGNS.
OBVERSE AND REVERSE

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

brackets enclose minor figures. In addition to these concepts, geometric motives, and rarely, conventional birds and animals or other realistic subjects are seen. Except in the latter case, in which the figures are made as prayers to the creatures which they represent, no symbolism is found in Menomini beadwork, the intention being purely esthetic.

When held up to the light these handsome, symmetrically woven objects often give the effect of cathedral stained-glass windows. According to the statements of the Indians, which are wholly credible, this technic is a survival of an older type of work in woven porcupine-quills, a few specimens of which still survive in the tribe.

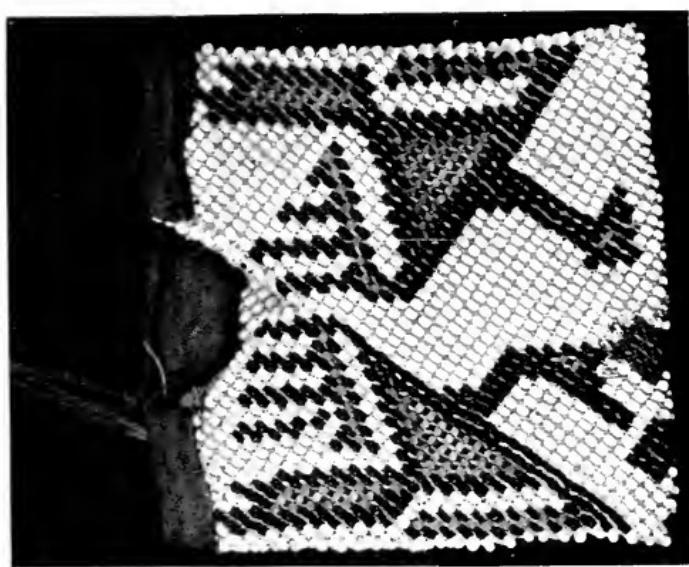
Old pieces of Menomini handicraft may be distinguished from modern degenerate, or, properly, more realistic, floral designs introduced by the Ojibwa, for the old designs are highly conventionalized and the component units are smaller and broken. In addition, old pieces were made on the heddle, instead of on the modern rect-

angular frame loom, and are more firmly woven.

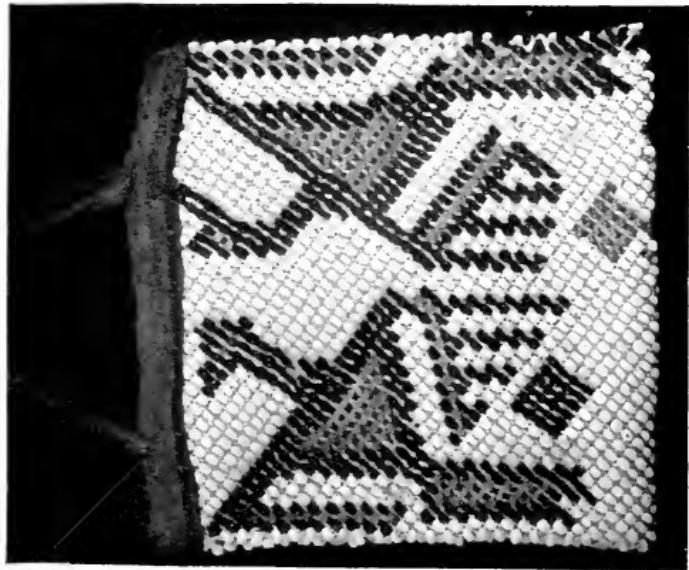
There seems no limit to the variety of the designs, and pl. LXIII-LXXIV, and fig. 18-22, show some of these, although the full effect of the colors and the lighting must be seen to be appreciated. Many of the motives seem widely spread among the Central Algonkian and Southern Siouan tribes, but do not extend to the northerly Ojibwa; though common to some of the southerly bands of that tribe.

It is notable that among the Sauk and Fox fruit forms seem more abundantly used than elsewhere, and for some curious reason these affiliated peoples do a large proportion of their work with black or dark-colored threads, which renders it somber and less pleasing. Among the Southern Siouans, not omitting the Winnebago, various star figures are popular, and somewhat more idealistic designs are found than among the Menomini, a statement which also holds true of their embroidery.

An antique pair of bead garters, the motive of which is the Thunderbird, may be

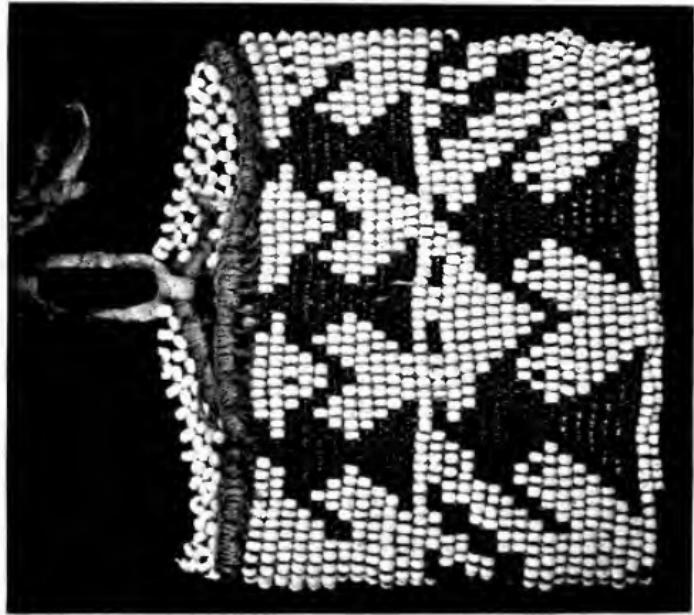


b

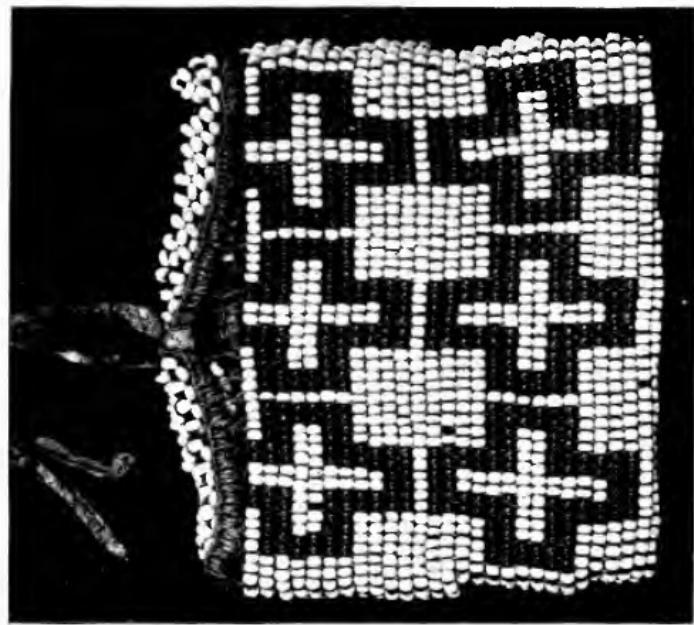


a

BEADED COSMETIC POUCH, OBVERSE AND REVERSE
Photographs by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



a



b

BEADED MEDICINE POUCH, OBVERSE AND REVERSE
Photographs by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

seen represented in pl. XXXIII, *b*. These, a gift to the writer from his Indian uncle, John Satterlee, were once the property of the donor's grandfather, Apa'xsamîn, "Acorn." When adorned by them, that renowned warrior became imbued with the power of the birds they represented, and was able to call the lightning from the skies to strike his foes. It is related that he once slew an enemy in this way. No doubt the design of these garters was dictated by the old warrior's familiar demon or dream-guardian during his puberty fast. I have seen a somewhat similar pair, of more recent origin, and doubtless of less magic fame, collected by Mr M. R. Harrington among the Potawatomi.

Some small pouches with animal designs are shown in pls. LXVII-LXIX.

DESIGNS ON WOVEN BAGS

Of the figures to be found on the woven bags or pouches of the Menomini, none have any native signification except such as are realistic, with one exception. This is a simple solid figure of hourglass shape

(fig. 18), said to symbolize a coup or brave deed on the part of the owner. It is suggestive of the X-shape figures of like import, painted in vermilion on grave-posts



FIG. 18.—Hourglass design. FIG. 20.—Grave-shed design.



a



b

FIG. 19.—Sacrificial food dishes.

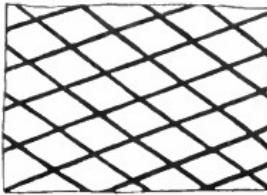
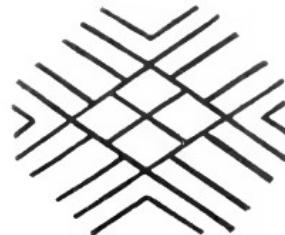


FIG. 21.—Diamond design. FIG. 22.—Spider-web design.

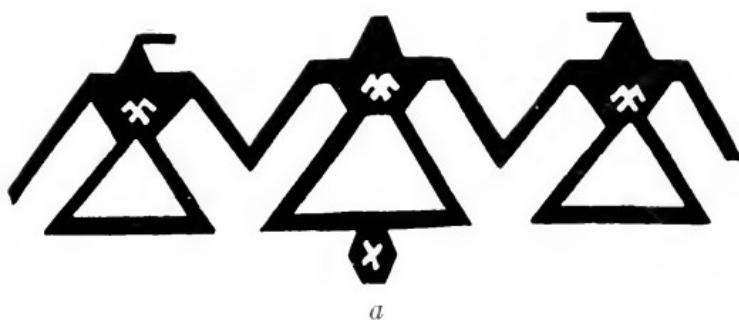


or on weapons. Fig. 19, *a*, *b*, show two oblong figures called birch-bark food dishes, the spots inside being food. These often

accompany representations of the manitous to signify sacrificial offerings made to keep them contented. A grave-house or covering is shown in fig. 20. Food dishes with contents are sometimes woven near these to appease hungry souls.

Of other realistic forms, none of which are very abundant, as compared with purely geometric concepts, the Thunderbird is perhaps most commonly seen. Pl. LXX, *c*, shows one of these manitous woven on an antique bag. Zigzag lines representing the lightning are worked above its head. Another Thunderer, without the lightning decoration, is seen in *d* of the same plate, taken from the reverse side of the same bag. A flock of young Thunderbirds, with joined wing-tips, is portrayed in *b*, but some translate this figure as representing people, or more commonly women with clasped hands, and speak of the motive as a "friendship" design placed on gift bags. The usual explanation, however, is that the figures represent the Thunderers, and that their presence on any article is a prayer to gain the protection of these

deities. The Thunderbird design as shown on these bags seems to be a very ancient pan-Algonkian concept. The writer has noted it not only among all the Central Algonkian tribes and their Southern Siouan neighbors, most of whose concepts of art and of material culture have been borrowed from the former, but he has seen the identical figures on archeological specimens collected on Algonkian sites much farther east. At Shinnecock Hills, Long Island, N. Y., he once took from a shell-heap a fragment of pottery with the form of a Thunderer etched on it. This specimen is now in the American Museum of Natural History. In the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, there is a fragment of red shale from the great Raritan (Unami Delaware) site at Tottenville, Staten Island, N. Y., with similar pictures scratched on it, and a polished stone monitor pipe in the museum connected with Rutgers College at New Brunswick, N. J., possibly from a site of the same people, has a like incised ornament. A portrait of a Mahican chief from the Hudson river, made in London in 1799,

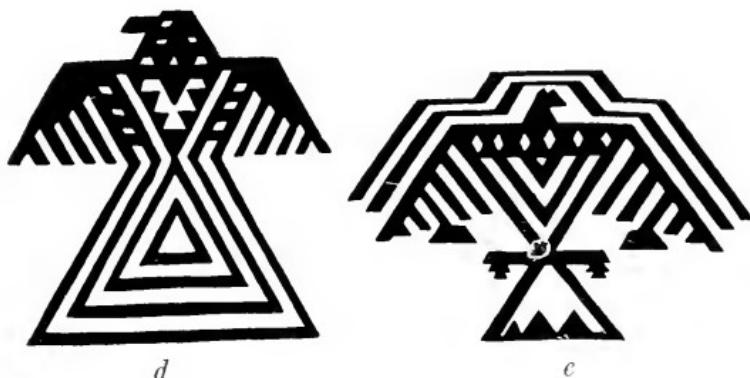


a



b

c

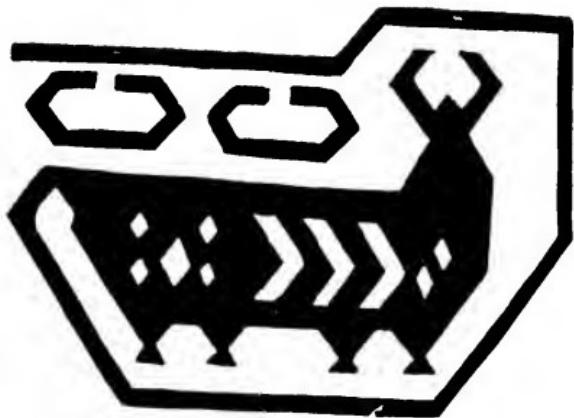


d

e

THUNDERBIRD DESIGNS WOVEN ON BAGS

a, Woman in league with Thunderers; *b*, Three Thunderers; *c*, Man in league with Thunderer; *d*, The Thunderbird; *e*, Thunderbird and lightning

*a**b**c**d**e*

ANIMAL DESIGNS WOVEN ON BAGS

a, Underground panther; *b, c*, Underground panther and real panther; *d*, Deer; *e*, Turtle

shows the same motive in facial painting. On the other hand, in 1913 the writer observed closely similar representations of the Thunderbirds painted on several lodges of a band of Plains Cree encamped on the banks of the Qu'Appelle river, on Crooked Lake reserve in Saskatchewan.

Pl. LXX, *c*, shows a man "in league with the Thunder," or having supernatural assistance from that deity. As is usual in such cases the man is shown with a hooked nose, suggestive of the beak of his patron, and with one arm linked with or joined to the wing of the manitou.

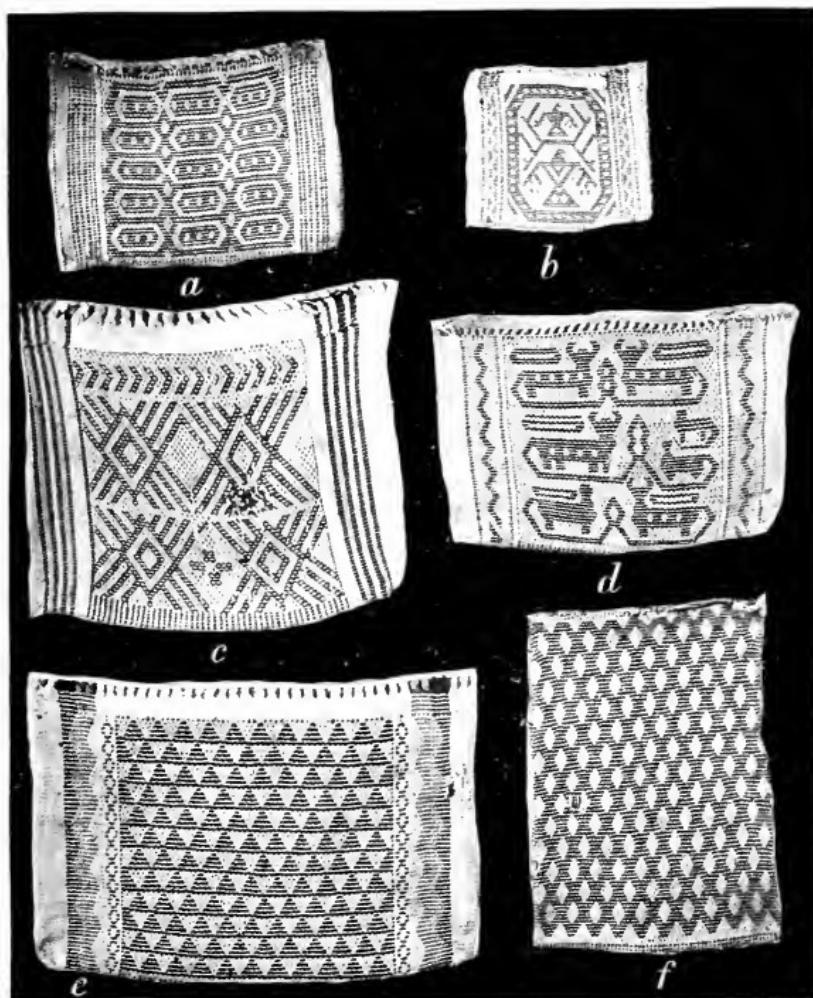
In *a* of the same plate is figured a woman *en rapport* with the Thunder. Her hands touch the wings of Thunderbirds on either side.

The mythical Giant Underground Panther (pl. LXXI, *a, b*) is not uncommonly shown on bags intended as receptacles to hold medicines. It is distinguished from ordinary panthers (*c*) by its buffalo-like horns. The long, curling tail drawn under the feet is often spoken of as "the panther's road." These panther figures, except for the posi-

tion of the tail, closely resemble the huge effigy mounds and intaglios of the panther found in Wisconsin, just as the representations of the Thunderbirds before described resemble the bird tumuli.

A deer (pl. LXXI, *d*) copied from a woven-bead bag containing a love-charm, constitutes a rare motive on Menomini bags, though such animals are frequently to be noted on specimens from the Sauk, Fox, Potawatomi, and Winnebago. Among the Eastern or Santee Sioux the deer or the elk is counted a powerful supernatural assistant in love affairs.

Some bags show the totem animal or dream-guardian of the maker. The turtle (pl. LXXI, *e*) is a rare subject taken from an old fragment of a bag that once held sacred objects. It is one of the few examples of this reptile that has come to the attention of the writer, although they have sometimes been noted as ornamental designs on bead bags. With the turtle were two incomplete figures denominated snakes by the wrinkled grandmother who presented the specimen (pl. LXXIII, *c*). It is said that sorcerers

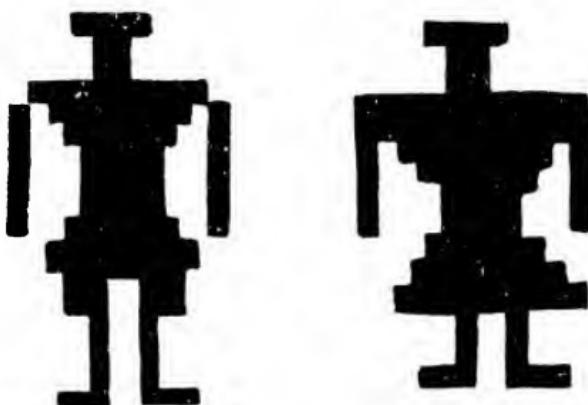


ANCIENT DESIGNS WOVEN ON BAGS

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



a



b



c

CONVENTIONALIZED REALISTIC DESIGNS

a Men holding hands in friendship; b, Man and Woman; c, Snakes

sometimes had representations of horned serpents woven in the bags which contained their poisons.

In pl. LXXII, *b*, is represented an ancient bag of basswood twine and buffalo wool, obtained as a gift from Philip Näku'ti, eighty-four years old in 1911, when the presentation was made, who had inherited it from his grandfather. On one side are shown Thunderbirds and flocks of their young; on the other, Underground and presumably actual panthers with their cubs, and the bark dishes from which they are supposed to eat. A spider-web is represented by *c* of the same plate, and by fig. 22. The lozenges in fig. 21 and in pl. LXXII, *f*, are called "diamonds," though this term may be a recent one.

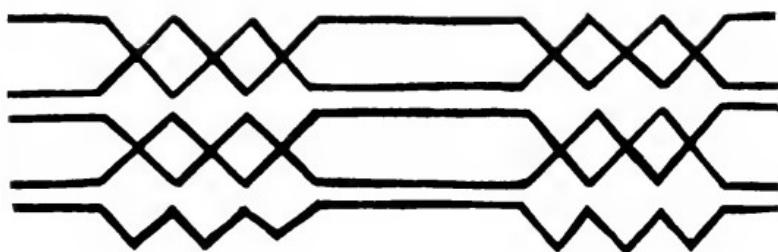
The design in pl. LXXIII, *a*, signifies men holding hands in friendship. They are not nearly so often figured as are women, for some reason, nor do men and women often alternate on any bags seen from this tribe. But note *b*.

The well known "elongate hexagon" (pl. LXXIV, *a*) is sometimes designated the

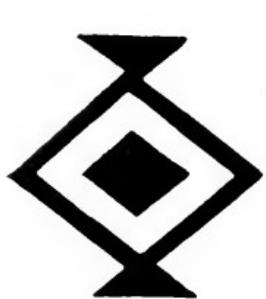
"watch chain" design by the Indians, but this is obviously a modern term. In rare instances I have seen conventionalized flower motives on Menomini bags of this sort. To the "hourglass," (fig. 18) "polygon," (pl. LXXIV, *d*), elongate oval or "star" (*c*), and "eye" design (*b*), the writer has supplied the names given for convenience sake. These designations, so far as he is aware, are entirely unknown to the Indians.

EMBROIDERY

Among the ornamental arts of the Menomini, that of embroidery takes first place. It is also a handicraft of antiquity, embroidery in colored quills of the porcupine dating back to prehistoric times. However, in the years since the first white contact, Venetian glass beads have been gradually substituted for the quills. This is owing to the ease with which they may be manipulated, and to the fact that they require no preliminary tedious processes of gathering, sorting, dyeing, and softening. But the ancient designs seem to have been retained in their entirety.



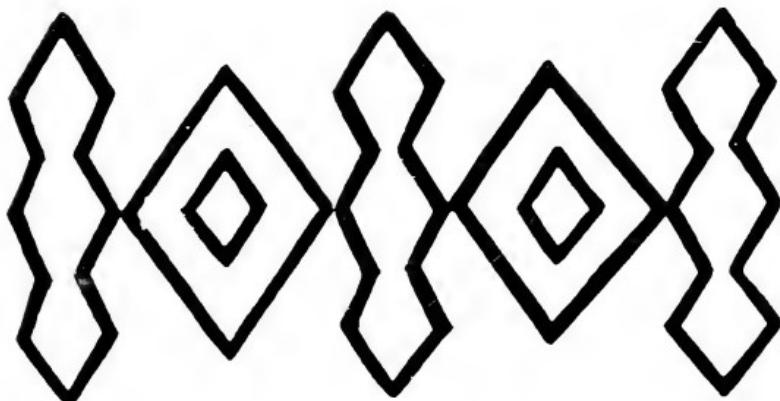
a



b



c



d

CONVENTIONALIZED GEOMETRIC DESIGNS

a. Elongate hexagon or watch chain; b. Eye; c. Star; d. Polygon



QUILL EMBROIDERY ON OTTER-FUR BAGS

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

Menomini embroidery is distinctive in its tendency to graceful openwork, without a filled-in background. It is thus reminiscent of the quillwork of the early Iroquois, the designs consisting, like theirs, of geometric or of conventionalized figures, the latter being, however, somewhat more realistic (pl. LXXV-LXXVII). Heavy figures and solidly quilled or beaded motives are avoided. The large, closely covered, conventional designs of the other Central Algonkian and Southern Siouan tribes occur only rarely, except in the case of the silk appliqué work on women's garments. Equally rare are the highly realistic designs, animal or floral, so dear to the hearts of the Ojibwa. Specimens of both these types are sometimes seen among the Menomini, but they are probably intrusive. On the other hand the Woodland Potawatomi, who are in contact with the Menomini on the north, seem to have copied Menomini motives, and indeed have so confessed to the writer. Their native style is rather that of the general Central Algonkian culture.

SILK APPLIQUÉ

Appliquéd designs made in colored silk ribbons, cross-stitched, or so carefully turned in and sewn that the stitching is invisible, are found on the broadcloth leggings, robes, and skirts now worn by women, and tradition states that these are survivals of quilled decorations on dark-dyed deer-skin. The figures are sometimes purely geometric, or geometric figures combined with conventional floral designs; but the greater number of appliquéd motives are purely floral.

While little or no symbolism is to be found in Menomini embroidery, in their silk appliquéd work the contrary is true. According to tribal mythology there is a set of four celestial sisters who dwell in the southern heavens, who, with another group of four sisters living in the east, control the destinies of women. To the southern sky sisters certain colors are appropriate, and each has power to travel and befriend females in one of the four directions. The colors are: red for the east, black for the



a



b

QUILL EMBROIDERY ON OTTER TAILS

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



QUILLED POUCH MADE OF EAGLE-SKIN

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

north, white, yellow, or blue, for the south and west. In the latter instance there seems to be confusion in the minds of the Indians as to which is which. The most that can be said, then, is that the colored ribbon work has a primary use which is purely ornamental, and a secondary use which is ceremonial, the colors being looked upon as protective emblems of the Sky Women.

DESCRIPTION OF SPECIMENS

Some few of the ribbon designs appliquéd on women's garments are geometric figures, principally diamonds, often indented at the short axes (fig. 23), or alternated with elongated diamonds and diamond-like figures. Triangles, hexagons, oblongs, and ovals also occur in similar rows, with alternations of regular and elongate figures (fig. 24).

Stepped triangles and diamonds are found in combination with floral figures (fig. 25), and diamonds with elongated and indented sides are seen (fig. 26), but it is a question whether or not some of these con-



FIG. 23.—Indented diamonds.

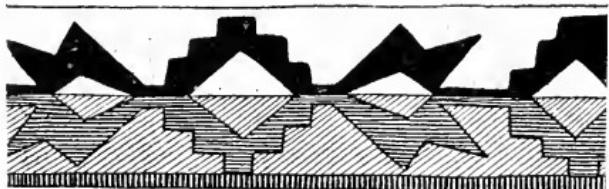


FIG. 24.—Stepped triangles and diamonds.

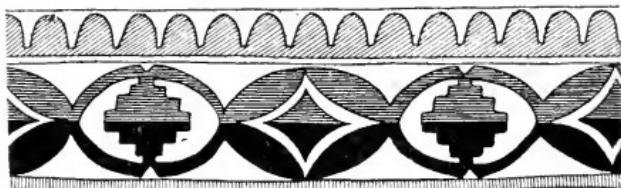


FIG. 25.—Stepped triangle and floral design.

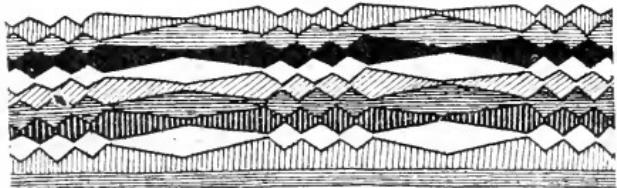


FIG. 26.—Elongate diamonds.

cepts, which now seem to be wholly geometric, are not the ultimate conventionalization of floral motives.

Among the conventional floral designs, fig. 27 shows a still recognizable oak-leaf

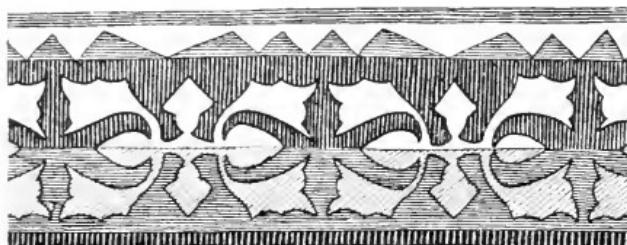


FIG. 27.—Oak-leaf and acorn.

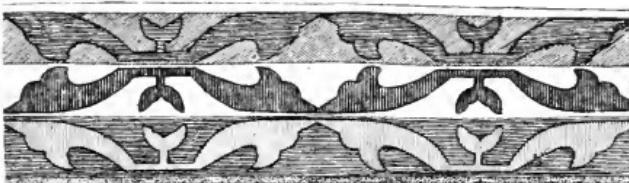


FIG. 28.—Antennæ motive.

and acorn basis, but fig. 28 impresses the writer as having been derived from the upper or forward wings and feathery antennæ of one of the larger species of moths. Fig. 29 may perhaps be a further conventionalization of this motive in which the

original has been forgotten, the antennæ exaggerated, and the wings attenuated, dwarfed, and notched. Hearts and diamonds, which form a minor decoration on

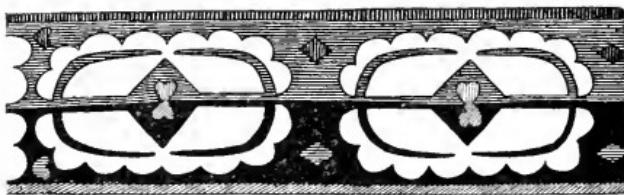


FIG. 29.—Antennæ, hearts, and diamonds.
this specimen, perhaps indicate the modern influence of a pack of cards.

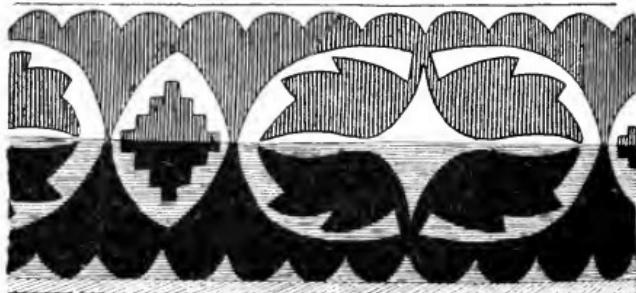


FIG. 30.—Stepped diamond and elongate figure.

While at first glance fig. 30 seems to belong to the purely geometric group, the writer inclines to the opinion that it represents another case of the ultimate conven-

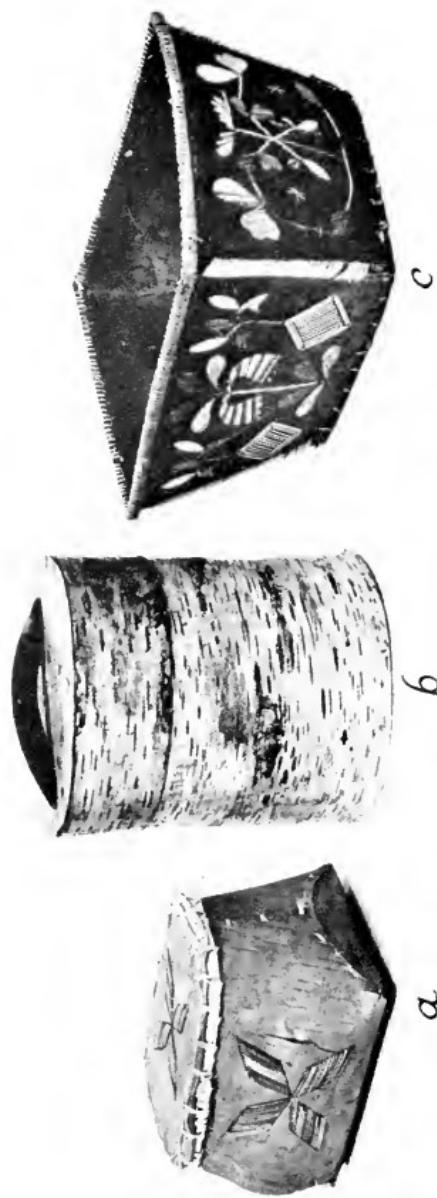


FLORAL DESIGNS

a, On breech-clout; *b*, On cradle-band

SKINNER—MENOMINI CULTURE

PL. LXIX



BIRCH-BARK BOXES
Height of b , $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

tionalization of an open-flower and spreading-leaf motive.

The designs are made from stencils cut from paper or from birch-bark, outlined with flour paste or charcoal, each stencil being a single unit of the design, and repeated as often as is needed. The specimen shown in pl. LXXVIII, *a*, is the handsomely decorated front and rear flaps of a breech-clout, obtained by the writer among the Menomini, but of doubtful origin, for all the old breech-clouts from this tribe which have come under our observation have been beautified by flower designs like those seen among the Ojibwa, only more crudely done. This specimen resembles closely Winnebago or Sauk-and-Fox work, the form of the doubly-curved floral design partaking much of the nature of those found among these people. It is quite possible, however, that the garment may be of Menomini make, for the art of the tribe is somewhat of a cross between pure Central and Northern Algonkian motives.

PORCUPINE QUILLWORK

Formerly the Menomini delighted to adorn their garments with the dyed quills of the porcupine, but of late years the art has disappeared, except for the coarse variety still used to decorate birch-bark boxes of small size intended to hold trinkets or maple sugar (pl. LXXIX, *a, c*). A few beautiful examples of the delicate open-work figures once made on deerskin have survived on the feet and tails of medicine-bags of otter, mink, and even weasel-skin, on pouches, arm-bands, and receptacles found in ancient sacred bundles, and on moccasins and various small objects still in the possession of the descendants of the early white settlers at Fort Howard and the Green bay district generally. Some fine examples are to be seen in the museum of the Kellogg Public Library at Green Bay, and others, family heirlooms, are in the possession of Miss Deborah Marten of that city. It is regrettable that these specimens are so obscurely located, instead of being placed with one of the large museums,

where they could be viewed by thousands and their preservation be assured.

The task of embroidering with porcupine-quills is said to have been both irksome and dangerous. The sharp tips of the spines were likely to wound the fingers in the process of being sewed in, and afterwards, in being trimmed off, might fly into the eyes and cause blindness.

In embroidering, the quills were softened in water, flattened between the teeth or the fingernails, and sewed with an awl on a background of soft-tanned leather, which itself had been previously dyed a dark color. A pattern was marked on the leather before the work was commenced. And when the design was completely embroidered, the quills, still soft, were flattened and smoothed by rubbing with a tool made of antler (fig. 53). Porcupine-quills were also woven to form belts and decorative strips; they were used as ornamental wrappings for pipestems, to fringe the legs of small skins used as medicine containers, and, with horsehair, to adorn the decorative strips attached to the shafts of eagle-feathers.

In the oldest examples of quillwork seen by the writer, namely the medicine-bags, which are handed down from generation to generation and are said to date back as far as two hundred years, floral designs have been abundant.

ANTIQUITY OF FLORAL MOTIVES

As has just been mentioned, floral designs, especially in conventionalized forms, are unquestionably of respectable antiquity among the Menomini, since they appear on examples of quill embroidery attached to medicine-bags or other receptacles some of which can be traced back two hundred years or more. The wide diffusion of this art among the various forest tribes, and its disappearance along with other traits of Woodland culture, as soon as the borders of the Woodland area are reached, mark it as one of the distinctive units of that culture. There is no reason to maintain that because Prairie Indians prefer to use geometric motives almost exclusively the Forest tribes must necessarily have done so.

Except in the Southeastern or Gulf re-

gion, where still other esthetic ideas prevail, floral concepts are one of the concomitants of Eastern Woodland material culture, and go hand-in-hand in distribution with such other characteristic features as the soft-soled moccasin. Southern Siouan tribes, and the Eastern Dakota, all of whom belong to the same group as the Central Algonkians, so far as material culture is concerned, also make use of these floral motives. On the northern plains, among those tribes which are in the process of graduation from Woodland to Plains culture, like the Bungi and the Plains Ojibwa, or the Plains Cree, who have practically crossed the dividing line, similar floral designs are found. These facts demonstrate that floral concepts are a fundamental trait of Woodland culture, and, so far as we can determine, an ancient one. The region in which they are in vogue has, in comparatively recent times, been extended across the subarctic forest belt to the West where it now includes even the Tlinkit.

It is undeniable that the Ojibwa and the Eastern Cree in particular have modernized

certain designs. No claim can be made for the antiquity of the flower-pot or jardinière from which issues a double spray of flowers, but there were blossoms in the forests and Indians to admire and copy them before flower-pots were introduced. Large bands of Ojibwa reside in Canada where the maple-leaf is the dominion emblem, and numbers of the tribe on both sides of the border make designs on which realistic maple-leaves with full venation are prominent. This particular type of work is unquestionably modern, and has no doubt been encouraged by traffic with the whites, yet the underlying idea of a realistic leaf is not, especially among the Ojibwa, who of all Indians seem to have gone more directly to botanical originals for their inspiration. At present the Menomini, who, when the writer first saw them in 1909, were still making only their own types of beadwork, are turning their attention more and more to realistic Ojibwa designs. Yet this may be only a recrudescence of an older custom, for some antique Menomini specimens which I have seen are more realistic in their con-

cepts than much of the work dating from post-European contact.

This discussion must not be interpreted to mean that the writer thinks that the early Menomini and other forest peoples made use of flower figures exclusively, and utterly neglected geometric designs. Such is not the case. They, and all their cultural relatives, had many geometric concepts in their art, which were contemporaneous with these. In embroidery, carving, and later in appliquéd, however, floral designs predominate over all others, whereas in pottery, basketry, and in woven bags and mats, geometric figures were preferred, or dictated by custom, or, in some instances, more easily made.

METAL WORKING

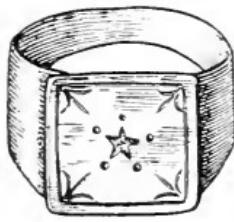
The elders still repeat traditions concerning the ancient use of native copper. According to these stories, the Menomini knew copper only in the surface veins, and did not attempt to sink shafts for mining purposes. It is said that fire was used to soften the ore so that it might be cut with

stone implements. The detached mass was then taken home and again heated, and hammered into shape with stones. The melting process was unknown by the Indians who were ignorant both of the means of producing heat great enough to melt copper and of the crucibles to contain the molten metal. Slightly grooved or notched stone mauls, such as are still to be picked up on the ancient sites of the Menomini, could well have been used for beating out copper.

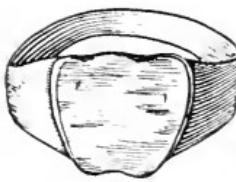
Many types of native copper implements have been obtained on the old Menomini sites at the Suamicos, Oconto, Peshtigo, and elsewhere on Green bay, Wisconsin, especially by Mr J. P. Schumacher of Green Bay. Among the articles found have been arrowpoints, knives, spear-heads, a butterfly ceremonial (with a cache of other copper articles at Oconto), and fishhooks. The writer personally found a fishhook on one of the Oconto sites.

At the present time the Menomini make a variety of ornaments from silver and german silver; principally round, flat buttons

and brooches of types similar to those in use by the Iroquois and other eastern tribes, attached by means of a tongue (pl. LXXX). They also manufacture rings, bangles, ear-



a



b

FIG. 31.—Rings of beaten metal. (Actual size.)

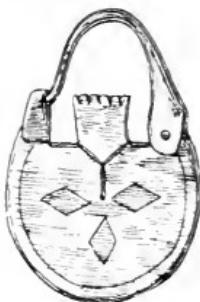


FIG. 32.—Metal earring with incised design. (Actual size.)

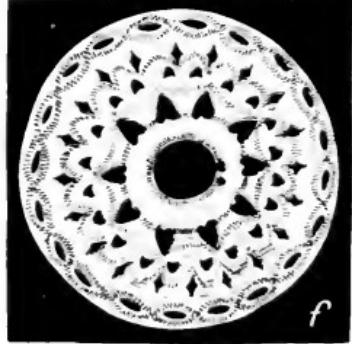
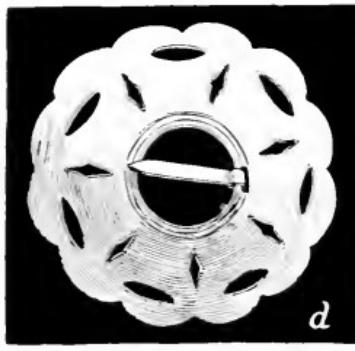
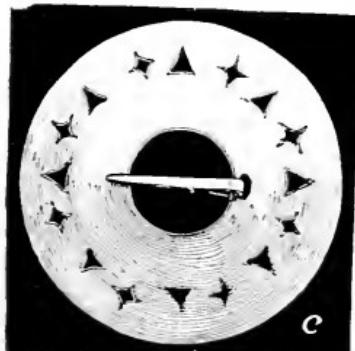
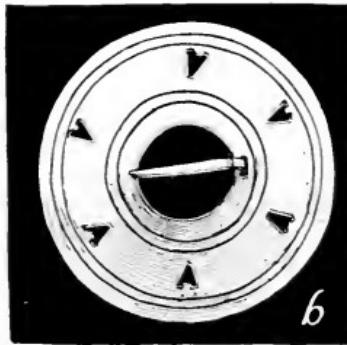
rings, and bracelets. In the workmanship and design of the latter they show peculiar skill and originality. Several excellent examples are shown in figs. 5, 31, 32.

The tools used by Menomini silversmiths are obviously derived from those

kept on hand by early traders as a part of their stocks in trade, and consist of small commercial or smithy-made punches, hammers, and dies of metal, with a little iron anvil. Some of these tools have been improvised from old files and rasps. The last surviving Menomini silversmith of the writer's acquaintance is Teko Whitefish, who was actively plying his trade in the early summer of 1920.

POTTERY

Although pottery vessels are said not to have been made or used by the Menomini for over a hundred years, the memory of the process, as described to them by their parents, still lingers among some of the older people. In 1911 the late Philip Näku'ti, then eighty-four years of age, told the writer that vessels were made of selected clay, which was pounded and mixed with pulverized shells of the freshwater clam (*Unio* sp.) for tempering. When the clay had been properly prepared, more water was added, and it was kneaded into a stiff paste. This was plastered by hand over a large ball of



SILVER BROOCHES
Diameter of *f*, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.



ROUND WOODEN BOWL
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

basswood-bark twine, an opening being left out of which protruded an end of the string. The clay was then smoothed off with a stick, and the incipient vessel was set in the sun to dry. In fact, sunshine was considered such a necessary factor in the drying process that no one ever attempted to make pottery on a dull day.

When the clay coating was dry, the potter took hold of the end of the ball of twine, which had been left protruding from the opening made for the purpose, and, pulling it, unwound the ball within, leaving an earthen shell. Fresh clay was daubed over the rough inside, and the outside was again scraped smooth with a stick. The vessel was then sized with a coating or wash of finer clay, and ornamented with designs marked with a sharpened stick. Such was Näku'ti's information, but archaeological evidence is to the effect that figures impressed by means of sticks wrapped with cord predominate over incised designs. After decorating the receptacle, holes were bored in the sides near the rim, for the purpose of affixing a bail of basswood-bark.

The vessel was then dried again, and is said to have been ready for use. Näku'ti supposed it not to have been fired but to have become hardened by the heat while in use, but apparently memory or his information must be at fault in this particular, for not only does it seem improbable that an unfired vessel could have been made to retain liquid without dissolving or coming apart, but all the potsherds and vessels seen or collected by the writer from old Menomini sites show distinct evidence of firing. Indeed they could not otherwise have withstood the elements for so many years. Possibly the theory that vessels were used without this essential step is a "folk explanation" of a now forgotten art. Archeological investigations show that the earthen jars of the ancient Menomini are of the old "pan-Algonkian" type with pointed base (fig. 33).

Peter Fish once told the writer that stone kettles were made in olden times. A shallow hole was first pecked in a boulder with another stone, and the pitting then

rubbed smooth. Perhaps this datum is really referable to stone mortars.

It is said that dishes and spoons were made of clay before wood came into use, but this may be merely a confused memory



FIG. 33.—Pottery jar with pointed base. (Height, 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

of the making of pottery jars described above. In common with a number of other Algonkian tribes visited by the writer, the Menomini believe that the first iron and brass or copper kettles obtained

by them were thrown up on the surface of the earth to sacred dreamers by the Underneath Gods. Probably this, too, is a survival of a tradition dating back to the time when kettles were made of earth, the property of the Powers Below. Be it as it may, this idea is curiously widespread among kindred tribes.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

WOODEN BOWLS

Among the Menomini two types of wooden bowls are known which are common to nearly all the forest tribes. These are the round form, and an oval variety, rising to a point at each end. A few of the circular bowls possess a handle on one side. Both types vary in size, from tiny affairs capable of holding only a few doses of medicine, with tiny carved spoons to match, to large feasting bowls, two and one-half feet in diameter, with huge ladles for serving. The average size of the round bowls is from eight to ten inches in diameter. They are used principally as individual food

dishes, or for throwing dice. Oval bowls are used only for food or for medicine, and are seldom of great size.

Wooden bowls are no longer made, and are now rare among the Menomini. For-

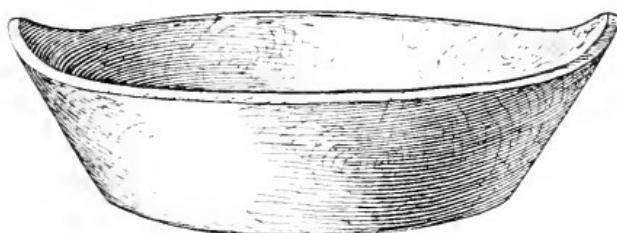


FIG. 34.—Oval wooden bowl. (Extreme diameter, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

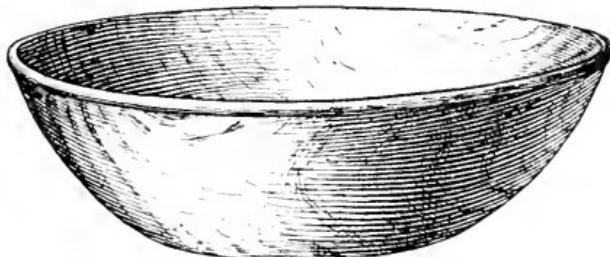


FIG. 35.—Round wooden bowl. (Extreme diameter, $11\frac{1}{16}$ in.)

merly they were fashioned from the knots or burls of the birch, black ash, and curly maple. After the bowl had been cut from the tree on which it grew, it was shaped and hollowed by burning and scraping with a

crooked knife or a small adze. In still earlier times flint, shell, or native copper implements were used. The process is the same as that used in carving out log mortars or dugout canoes.

Pl. LXXXI exhibits a bowl of the round type with a carved handle. These bowls are never made with thick, flat bottoms as among the Iroquois. Fig. 34 represents an oval bowl, and fig. 35 a round bowl. These latter are $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. and $11\frac{1}{6}$ in., respectively, in greatest diameter.

TORTOISE-SHELL DISHES

Dishes or bowls made of the shells (carapaces) of the margined, wood, or Blandings tortoise, are sometimes seen. These utensils (fig. 36) are prepared for use by scraping out the inner ribs, and sometimes by trimming the edges of the shell away. They are used for various purposes, often for holding tobacco. They seem to be analogous to the archeological specimens found in graves and shellpits in coastal New York:

The example figured is in the American Museum of Natural History, and measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length.

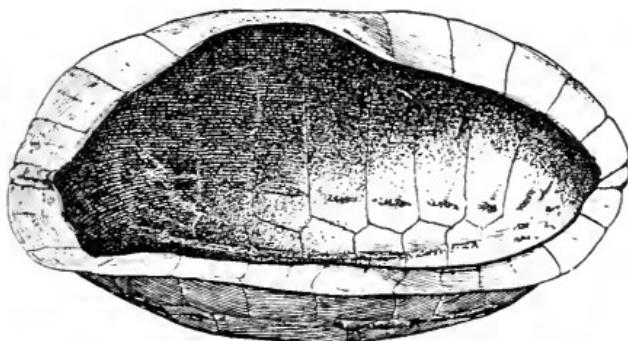


FIG. 36.—Bowl made of tortoise-shell. (Length, $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

WOODEN SPOONS

Spoons with short handles and large, broad bowls, were formerly carved from red cedar, birch, maple, and walnut. Fig. 37 shows a large ladle used in serving feasts of the *Mitä'win*, on the handle of which is carved a human head, intended to represent *Mä''näbus*; fig. 38 is another, less handsome, long-handled example. They are, respectively, $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. and 24 in. in length. Most spoons and ladles are plain, or at least ornamented only with some simple open-

work carving (fig. 39). This latter form is one which I have not observed elsewhere, and is now in the American Museum of Natural History. Most wooden spoons

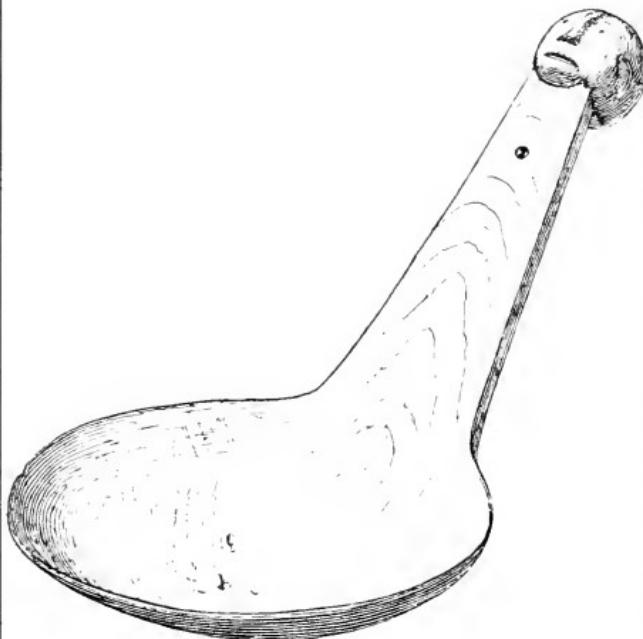


FIG. 37.—Ceremonial ladle. (Extreme length, 13½ in.)

possess a handle carved so as to form a backward-pointing hook, so that they may be hung over the edge of a bowl or a kettle and not slip into the food. This is a feature



FIG. 39.—Spoon with straight handle. Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.



FIG. 38.—Long-handled ladle.
(Extreme length, 24 in.)

that is rather widely found among the Woodland tribes (fig. 40). On the whole, Menomini spoons are not so well made as those of their neighbors; the attractively carved ladles of the Sauk, Fox, Potawatomi, Winnebago, and eastern Sioux, with their effigy handles, are certainly of a better type.



FIG. 40.—Spoon with hooked handle. (Extreme length, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

SHELL SPOONS

Spoons are said to have been carved of antler and of bone, but this is no longer done. Fig. 41 shows a crude spoon made from the slightly modified scapula of a young black bear, now in the American Museum of Natural History. It seems highly probable that spoons made of simple

clamshells were the forerunners of wooden ladles among the Menomini. In fact, this has been stated by one of the Jesuit missionaries at Green Bay, in speaking of the adjacent tribes. Moreover, the Menomini, for certain ceremonial purposes, still use clamshell spoons; for example in administering the sacred drink during the initiation of candidates in the *Mitä'win*. A clamshell for this purpose should be found in every properly equipped medicine-bag.



FIG. 41.—Spoon made from the scapula of a young bear.

BASKETS AND BOXES

Among the Menomini the art of making splint baskets in checker, twilled, and wicker-work, is neither ancient nor well developed. It is an industry brought to the tribe by the Oneida and the Stockbridges from the East. The forms in use

include fancy-work baskets, storage baskets, and even broad-brimmed hats. These articles are principally made for sale, and are seldom used by the Menomini. On the subject of basketry Hoffman remarks:

"Baskets are made on much the same principle of plaiting as is employed for bark mats. The strips or osiers are made from black elm, the necessary limbs being from 3 to 4 inches in diameter; these are thoroughly hammered with a wooden mallet until the individual layers of the branch are detached from the layers immediately beneath. These layers are then cut into thin narrow strips by means of the knife universally used [the crooked knife]. The strips are kept in coils until ready for use, when they are soaked in water."¹⁶

Since time immemorial the Menomini have made baskets, boxes, pails, and other receptacles of birch-bark. The commonest of these are plain boxes popularly known as "mococks" throughout the region of the great lakes. They are made of a single piece of birch-bark cut according to the pattern displayed in pl. LXXIX, *a*. The sides are then folded up and sewed together with spruce-root. Around the upper edge a band of split willow is also sewed on to

strengthen the rim. The boxes are usually provided with a cover of bark, which is sewed on in the same manner. These receptacles range in size from huge storage affairs for holding maple sugar, to little trinket boxes. The shape resembles a truncated pyramid with rounded edges, and, in the case of the smaller boxes, sides and cover are often ornamented with colored porcupine-quills. Another form of ornamented bark box of more nearly rectangular shape is shown in pl. LXXIX, *c*. Among the Menomini the writer has never seen these bark receptacles ornamented with any other device save quilling. Pails made like the mococks except in shape are used to carry maple-sap. Small bark dishes are used to catch the sap as it drips from the spout driven into the maple tree. These articles are also described in the section on making maple sugar, pages 165-168.

A cleverly made and uniquely shaped cylindrical box of birch-bark is shown in pl. LXXIX, *b*. It is composed of a circular piece of bark, apparently slipped off a log, perhaps a rotten one, and a disc of wood

which forms the bottom. The top is made of another disc which fits over the upper edge. Sweet-grass baskets (figs. 42, 43)

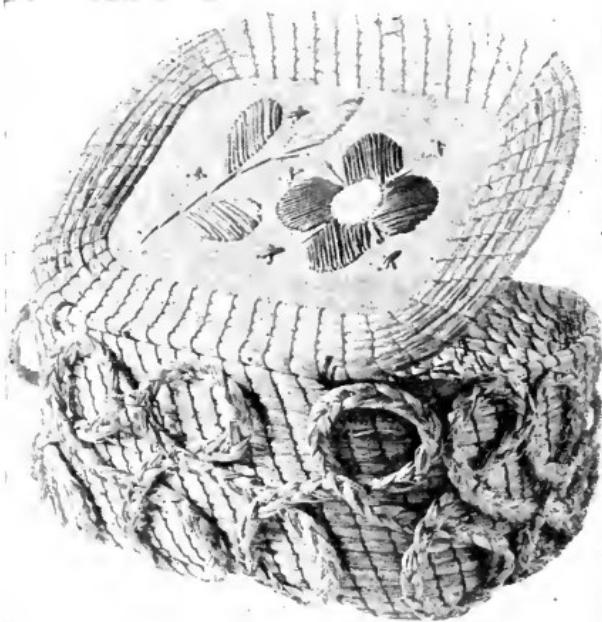


FIG. 42.—Sweet-grass basket ornamented with quillwork.
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

are made by the coil process, and quilled.

Although they are common among the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, I have seen only two buffalo-hide trunks among the Meno-

mini. One (fig. 44) is in the American Museum of Natural History, and was collected by the late Dr William Jones. It is about 3 ft. long, 18 in. broad, and 18 in.

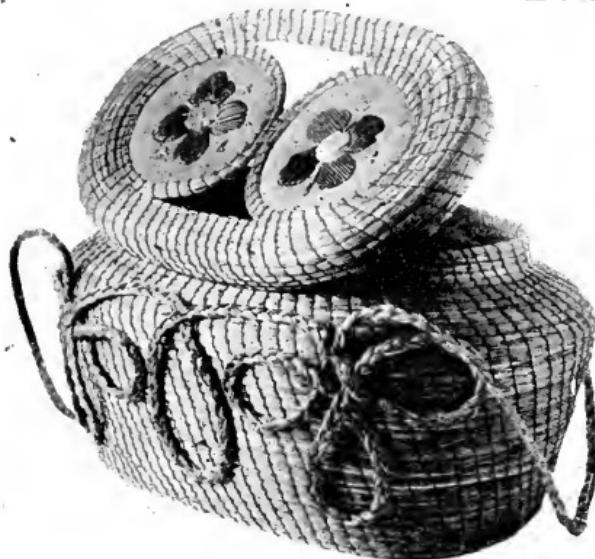


FIG. 43.—Sweet-grass basket ornamented with quillwork.
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

high, and is made of plain bison-hide. The other, of about the same size and shape, is in the Milwaukee Public Museum. It was collected by Dr. S. A. Barrett, and is unique in that it still retains the wool inside.

The family from whom Dr Jones obtained his specimen have informed the writer that their trunk may have been of Sauk origin.

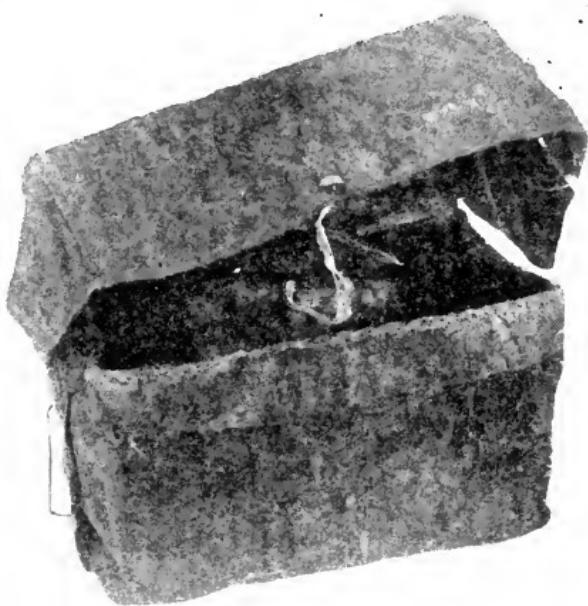


FIG. 44.—Fison hide trunk.
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

However, all those which have come to my attention from that tribe have been adorned with painted figures.

OTHER RECEPTACLES

Shallow, oblong, wooden boxes with sliding covers are used to hold eagle-feathers (fig. 45). They measure about twelve inches in length, by three in breadth, and, in the case of old specimens, have been carved out by hand. They are widely distributed among the Central tribes. The example here figured is in the American Museum of Natural History.

Two rawhide pouches with open-work ornamentation cut in their flaps are shown in

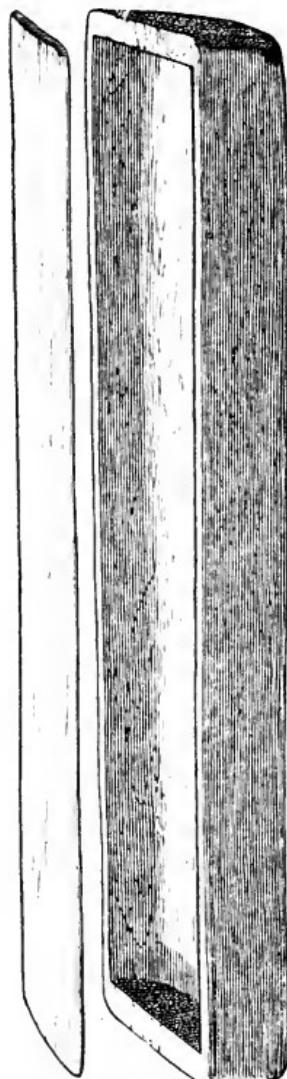


FIG. 45.—Wooden box used to hold eagle-feathers. (Length, 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

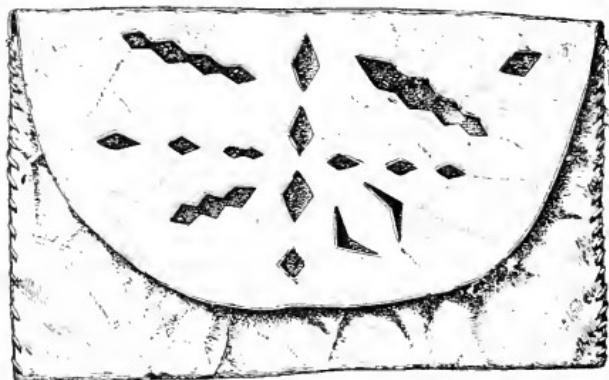


FIG. 46.—Rawhide pouch for holding porcupine-quills.

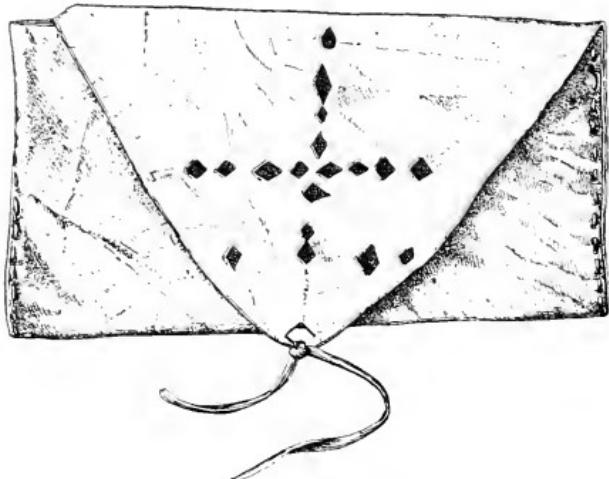


FIG. 47.—Rawhide pouch for holding porcupine-quills.
(Length, about 6 in.)

figs. 46, 47. They are used to hold porcupine-quills intended for use in embroidering. In shape they are like envelopes. The measurements are, respectively, 7 in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. and $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. The writer believes these to be rare articles, as he has seen no others.

Grease and lard are often stored in bladders of the black bear, a custom often noted by the writer among the Ojibwa and the Cree north of Lake Superior.

BROOMS

A broom of cedar (pl. LXXXII) is of a type formerly used to clean out the lodges. A thick, cylindrical post about four feet long is taken and, except for about a foot at one end, is trimmed down to make a slender handle. The club end is then split into fine slivers. These, bent backward and outward, form the brush, which is secured by a tight belt of bark.

FIRE-DRILLS

The bow-drill, with a shaft of seasoned cedar and a hearth-board of the same material, was used to make fire. The tin-

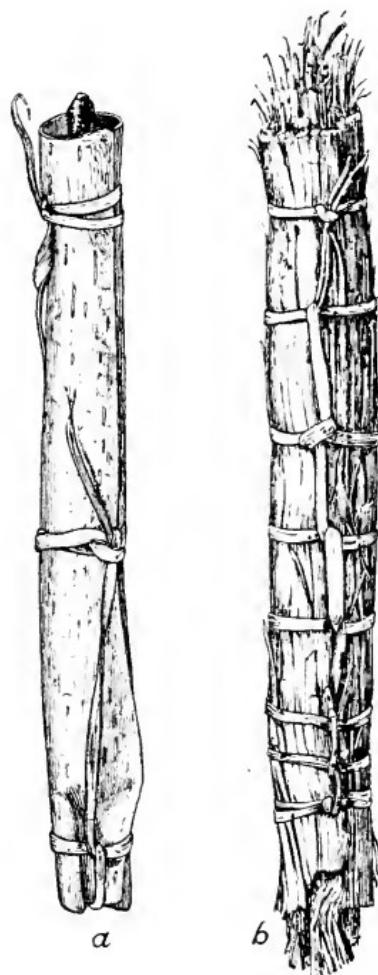


FIG. 48.—*a*, Torch in birch-bark case; *b*, Rope of cedar-bark used to transport fire. (Length of *a*, $16\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

der was pounded cedar-bark, or, in some cases, punk. Punk is still used with flint and steel in lighting ceremonial pipes. If the first spark does not catch, the omen is not good.

Thick ropes made of twisted, pounded, and shredded cedar-bark are still sometimes used to carry fire from one place to another (fig. 48, *b*). The spark lives and eats slowly into the rope for a long time until wanted. Then, if violently waved in the air, it glows or even flames.

MORTARS

The Menomini use a short, heavy, horizontal log mortar eighteen inches to two feet in length by about a foot thick, usually with rude handles hewn on the ends (pl. XXXVIII). With it is always a short double-ended pestle a yard or less long. Stone pestles are not now used, nor were any data secured as to their occurrence on the old sites. Probably the stone pounder goes with the vertical log type of mortar. Vertical mortars are sometimes, though rarely, seen on the Menomini reservation, but all

those that have come to the writer's knowledge have been in Potawatomi families. The Menomini do not use stone metates and mullers for corn crushing, as do some of the neighboring tribes.

BONE AWLS

Fig. 49 shows a bone awl collected among the Menomini by Dr S. A. Barrett, and now in the Milwaukee Public Museum. The



FIG. 49.—Bone awl now used in basketry.
Courtesy of the Public Museum, Milwaukee.

writer never had the good fortune to obtain one of these, although he has bought them from the neighboring Potawatomi. They are now used almost exclusively in basket making, though they were formerly used in sewing leather, the awl being employed to perforate the skin, and the sinew thread being pushed in afterward, just as shoe-

makers work among us. Fig. 50 shows an awl with a bone point and a wooden grip now belonging to the American Museum of Natural History; and fig. 51, *a*, *b*, two with bone and antler handles and metal points. All the forms described here are survivals of archeological days. That entirely of bone is familiar to all students; the forms with handles no doubt illustrate methods of hafting sharp bone slivers and copper awls. A bone described as having been used for "pushing awls in sewing" is credited to the collection gathered by the late Dr William Jones in the catalogue of the American Museum of Natural History.



FIG. 50.—Awl with bone point in wooden grip.
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

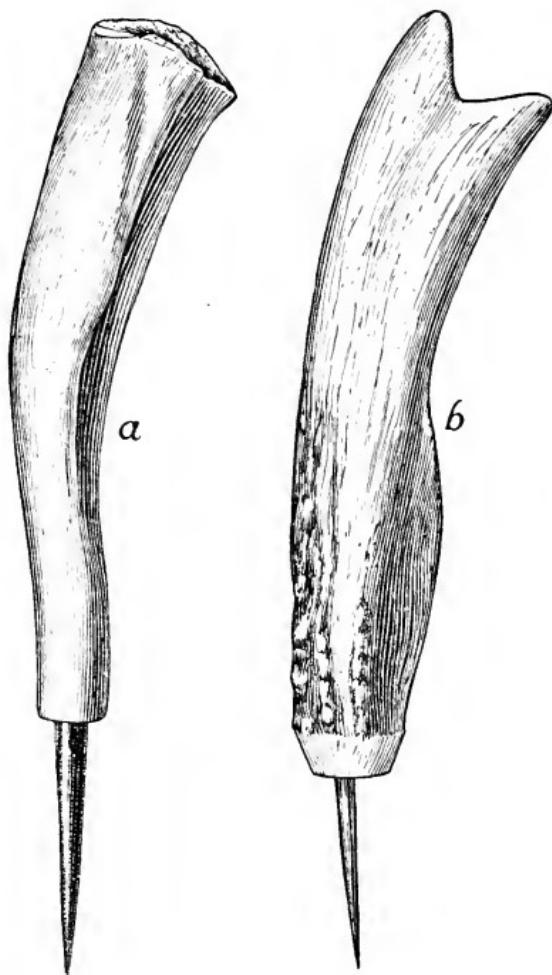


FIG. 51.—Bone and antler handled awls with metal points.
(Length of *b*, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

BONE NEEDLES

Flat, double-pointed needles, four to six inches long and perforated in the middle (fig. 52, *a*, *b*) are still made of bone by the Menomini. They are used in netting the babiche on snowshoes, and closely resemble many archeological types. The examples shown here are in the American Museum of Natural History.

For sewing the cattails of which the wigwam covers are made, a flat, thin needle, about twelve inches long and half an inch broad, is used. These mat needles are perforated near the center, and are sharp at one end and blunt at the other. They are often

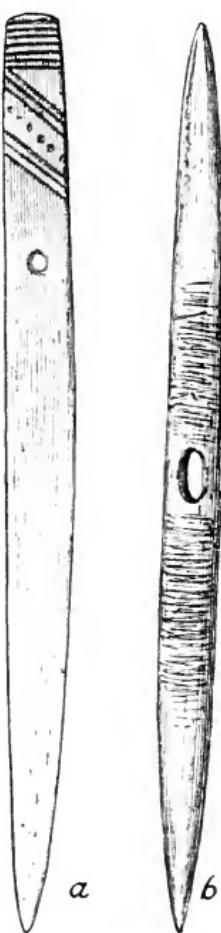


FIG. 52.—Snowshoe needles made of bone.
(Length, 6 in.)
Courtesy of the
American Museum of
Natural History.

scalloped on the edges, and decorated with incised designs on the upper surfaces (fig. 17).

AN IRON FOR QUILLS

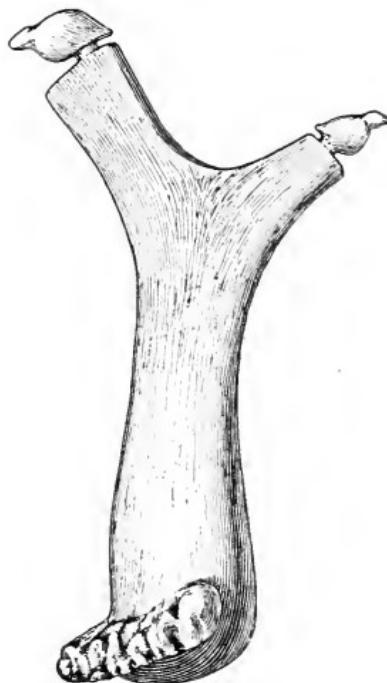


FIG. 53.—Quill smoother made of antler. ($\frac{1}{2}$ size.)
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

An antler implement, neatly carved with the totem birds of its owner, is shown in fig. 53. It is said to be a "quill iron,"

used to smooth out quill embroidery after the work had been finished. It is about 5 in. long, and is now in the American Museum of Natural History.

VOCABULARY

- Mäskutai'wäskimüt*, yarn ('black') bag.
wikopä'skimüt, basswood fiber bag.
kisäki'kop minu'ti, cedar-bark fiber bag.
sä'nüp minu'ti, nettle fiber bag.
sa'sikop minu'ti, slippery-elm fiber bag.
metcimä'skimüt, food bag, for dried venison.
ka'kop minu'ti, corn-hulling bag (string bag).
pilwä'sokün, buffalo-hide trunk (the term is now applied to an ammunition bag).
ana'kian, mat woven of colored reeds.
upa'^ski, cattail-flag house mat.
pa'samina'kün, berry or acorn-drying mat.
ama'^x, bulrush-mat needle.
uske'man a'mox, snowshoe needle.
uske'man, babiche, for snowshoes.
kinutei'tciu, oval wooden bowl.
mêtigwana'gûn, round wooden bowl.
mêtigwanagä'sa, tiny, round, wooden bowl.
mêtî'gämiskwûn, wooden spoon.
okan ä'miskwûn, spoon made of bone.
wewin ä'miskwûn, spoon carved of antler.
ä'sesa ä'miskwûn, clamshell spoon.
metig asa'gûn, horizontal log mortar.
asa'gûnatik, wooden pestle.
mä'nona a'^xkä'^x, pottery (red clay) kettle.
ota'käkün, pottery kettle (lit. 'his kettle').
wiki sopomo ma'^xka, birch-bark box for maple sugar.

käxkop ina'gún, bark dish or basket.
mé'gisá mél'tik oke'tcikún, bead heddle.
ta'pinak oke'tcikún, square frame for bead-working.

WEAPONS

WAR-BUNDLES

In connection with their warlike activities, the war-bundles of the Menomini are elsewhere described (see pages 60-64), but they should again receive at least passing notice. These sacred articles are small oval packets of amulets and charms, to which are attached songs and rituals for the purpose of bringing immunity and success to the bearers in war, and of restoring the wounded to health. They belong to those who have dreamed the right to own them, and are supposed to be the gifts of the Thunderbirds or of the Morning Star.

The contents of these sacred articles vary considerably, doubtless according to the dreams of the owners, emphasis being laid on the charms relating to the donor of the package. Thus the leading or principal power in one may be a little warclub or a tiny, carved lacrosse stick or a ball, or all

three, or even a round stone, all of which articles are emblematic of the Thunderers. In another I have seen the entire skin of a bald eagle; another had a tightly-tied bundle of weasel-skins; others tails or other portions of the skin of the buffalo; several had snake-skins; two, the skins of small birds to which portions of human scalps were attached. These articles are invariably enveloped in an outer wrapper composed of a small, woven reed mat, whence comes the native name for these charms, *wapana'kian*, or white mat, although the mat in actuality is often covered with designs in dark-dyed reeds. Beneath the outer mat is an inner wrapping of white tanned buckskin, called *wa'pikin*. One unusual example collected by the writer from the late Pitwä'skûm had this inner wrapper covered with paintings of the gods of war in various colors (pl. xcvi). Tied to the outside of the bundle are usually reed whistles for calling the Thunderers, war-clubs, and deers'-hoof or gourd rattles. The contents include, in addition to the articles previously enumerated, roots and

herbs to heal the sick or to render the warriors invisible, war-paint, and the skins of small animals, such as bats and swallows, which are difficult to shoot on the wing, and, when worn by the warriors, impart to them this quality of swift erratic flight.

Hawk- or eagle-skins lend strength to strike the foe; the raven gives wariness, especially to scouts; the snake stealth in approach and escape; the weasel, who never returns from the hunt with an empty belly, success and ferocity. With these may be birch-bark song records in the crude picture-writing common among the Algonkians, and additional charms such as feathers, tiny warclubs, bows and arrows, or even, as in one instance, a native copper arrow-head, picked up by someone long ago, and kept as a war-charm. In another case, a grooved stone axe, once hafted and tied outside a war-bundle, was given me as an ancient relic. In one bundle figures of the Thunderers in human form, carved on blocks of wood, were seen, and, in one only, a braided bast prisoner-tie, with quilled tassels, was found. This was the solitary

case of a prisoner-tie noted by the writer in perhaps as many as twenty-four war-bundles collected among the Menomini, although these articles are common enough in Sauk, Fox, and Southern Siouan bundles.

In the detail of always having an outer wrapping composed of a reed mat, the Menomini bundles resemble those the writer has seen or collected among the Potawatomi, but not those of the Sauk and Fox, which usually have an outer covering of deerskin. The Iowa and the Oto, while sometimes using a mat for purposes of external wrapping, seem to prefer a cover of deerskin. The Osage and the Kansa have an inner mat wrapper, but the whole is enveloped in a wallet woven of buffalo-hair. It may well be added that the bundles of the Oto, Osage, and Kaw resemble one another as distinct from the Sauk, Fox, Potawatomi, and Menomini type.

An owner of a war-bundle can, and indeed often does, sell his bundle or a part of it to another, especially as the burden of keeping the palladium placated in times of peace, by means of feasts and sacrifices, is

heavy. Bundles must be secluded from women undergoing their menses, and must be treated with respect by all comers.

WARCLUBS

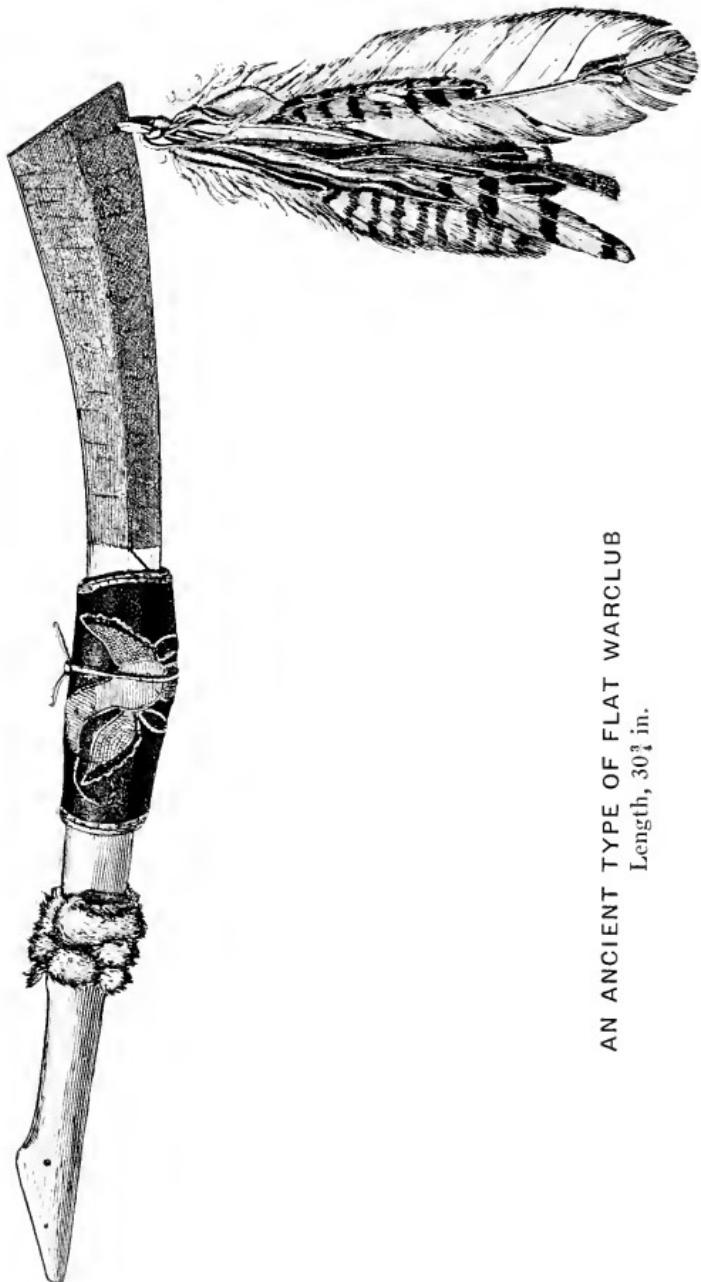
Two types of warclubs were commonly used by the Menomini. These were the ball-headed weapon, called *pa^xku'egūs*, with or without a spike in the knob, and the flat "gun-butt" or "rabbit's hind-leg" variety, called *pasahā'nakūs* (pl. LXXXIV, c). This form may originally have had a stone celt set in it, just at the turn of the outer angle of the blade. A variant of this type, itself an ancient variety, is shown in pl. LXXXIII. Clubs of this less angular kind are depicted by John White as in use among the Algonkians of Virginia at the time of the first settlements in that district. The bird figure in beads, attached to an ornament tied to the club, represents a Thunderer, one of the gods of war and a notable patron of fighting men. All warclubs for practical use average about two feet in length.

The Menomini still retain as ancestral heirlooms clubs that date back many gen-



BROOM MADE FROM A CEDAR POST

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



AN ANCIENT TYPE OF FLAT WARCLUB
Length, $30\frac{1}{4}$ in.

erations. Pl. LXXXIV, *a*, shows one obtained from John Amob, which is supposed to have been worn by a warrior named Å'sikwonit at the siege of Wawaie'tonon, or Detroit. It is of the ball-headed type, and does not show the skill in workmanship displayed in some specimens.

The fine old specimen shown in fig. 54 betrays its age by the high polish due to much manipulation. The handle is more angular than usual, and the neck drops to an exaggerated degree. The head has been weighted with lead at some time subsequent to its making. The Menomini Wa'niskum, from whom it was obtained, declared that it had been used in many victorious

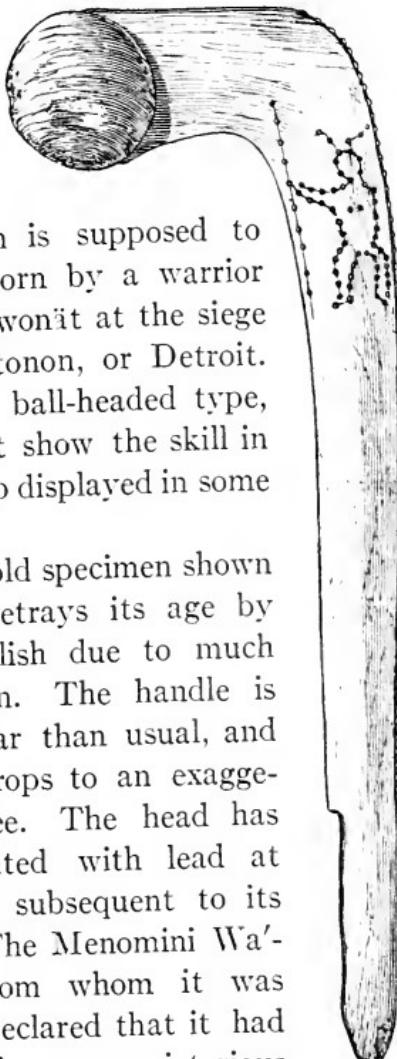


FIG. 54.—Ball-headed type of warclub. (Length, 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

battles against the Sauk and Fox. On the handle, inlaid in small white beads, is the figure of a plumed warrior, bearing a lance.

Miniature warclubs, of both the types described, are made and carried by such men as are supposed to have descended from the Thunderers, or who have these beings as their dream-guardians. The clubs are supposed not only to assure their owners supernatural protection, but because of their magic properties to be efficacious in actual combat. Such clubs are kept in the lodge or carried on the person. Of course, some persons who "bear the feathered name" or are "in league with the Thunder," are not restricted to the tiny models, but may make and keep real warclubs. Old Ki'tikon, well remembered by the writer, had a ball-headed club of larger size than usual, with two knife blades of steel affixed in the under circumference of the knob. This he constantly bore with him as the result of an injunction received from the Morning Star during his puberty dream.

Warclubs of both types, when ceremonial in origin, are frequently painted red on one side and black on the other, with the significance treated in this article at greater length (see p. 346), of eternity, symbolizing the lasting character of their supernatural patrons. Warclubs are often lashed on the outside of sacred war-bundles, and are frequently carried by their owners when on parade, or during dances. For the latter purpose, specially carved and painted models of very light wood, sometimes bearing flashing mirrors, are made.

The elders speak of a type of warclub, a specimen of which I once saw, owned by Kine'sa. This was a slungshot, made by covering a small, heavy, round stone with rawhide, and attaching it loosely by a thong to a short leather-covered handle of wood about six inches long. The weapon was carried by a thong which was slipped over the wrist. As the Menomini regard pebbles and similar small concretions as thunderbolts, or eggs, such weapons as the slungshot are no doubt supposed to have additional value, in that they struck the enemy with

the power of the lightning. The writer has seen stone-headed clubs, somewhat similar to these described, but longer handled, among the Winnebago. In pl. LXXXIV, *b*, is shown a light trade axe or tomahawk.

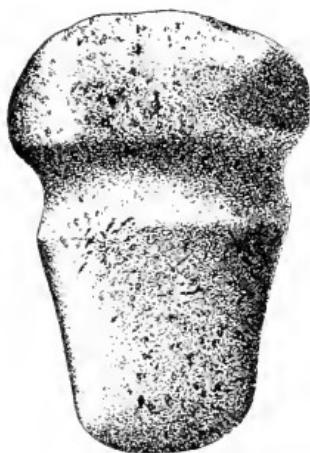


FIG. 55.—Grooved stone axe. ($\frac{1}{4}$ size.) Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

Grooved stone axes were used chiefly to lop branches for firewood, but were occasionally used as weapons, and one of these latter is shown in fig. 55. This was a gift to the writer from the late Indian Court Judge Sabatis Perrote, who stated that it was an heirloom in his family. He added that it had once been hafted and used as a club, and that it had survived as an attachment to the outside of a war-bundle for many generations before its handle rotted and fell apart. It is now in the American Museum of Natural History. Philip Näku'ti once told the writer that his parents



WARCLUBS
a, Ball-headed; *b*, Hafited; *c*, Flat



BUFFALO-HIDE AMMUNITION POUCH AND POWDER HORN

described the method by which grooved axes were made. The groove was pecked in with a small pebble held in the hand. Grooved axes, celts of stone, and celts of copper are found on the ancient village-sites on Green bay. A bell-shaped stone celt was once picked up by the writer at Big Suamico.

SHIELDS AND KNIVES

Some old Indians state that in former days warriors carried small, round shields of buffalo-hide, but none of these shields has been in existence for a long time, and most of the best informants deny that the tribe ever used shields. The custom is depicted among the Sauk and Fox by Catlin, but seems to have been abandoned by the Central tribes soon after his paintings were made. The Menomini speak of the buffalo shields as being particularly common among their enemy the Osage. The Menomini believe they did not need shields, since they used the war-bundles for protection.

Knives were worn in a sheath suspended

by a short cord around the neck and resting on the chest. The weapon thus placed could be more readily seized in case of attack. Knife sheaths were handsomely embroidered with porcupine-quills and tufts of dyed deer's hair. Latterly, since the cessation of intertribal warfare, knives have been worn at the belt. The sheaths are made of saddle-leather, ornamented with brass-headed tacks or woven bead-work. Sometimes the skin of the lower leg of a deer with the hoof attached is utilized. In prehistoric days, knives finely chipped of flint, or made of sharp bone, or of native copper, are said to have been in vogue.

BOWS AND ARROWS

While the Menomini of today insist that their grandfathers used only long, simple bows, of hickory or of ash, in Hoffman's time there were some of the older men who claimed to have seen bows made by members of their own tribe "consisting of two pieces of wood, glued together lengthwise, and wrapped at intervals with buckskin or sinew."¹⁸

In making a bow for hard service it is necessary to select strong, resilient wood, and for this purpose a hickory was usually chosen. A tree was felled and the implement was blocked out with an axe according to the grain of the wood. The rough form was then carried home, where it was dressed down to final shape with the crooked knife, rubbed with bear's grease, and put away to season. Bows are sized at intervals with deer's brains to keep them from cracking. Some bows are rather elaborately finished, and fig. 56 shows one of these which bears near one end twenty-five tally notches.

The woods preferred for bow-making were, in order of choice, shagbark hickory or *nishkaha'käo*; two other unidentified varieties of hickory, both called *nana'tcko*; white oak, *ûske'itime*; elm, *ane'p*; and hemlock, *miûsikû'kawä*.

In olden times the bows were made perfectly straight, not bent,



Fig. 56.—Bow with tally notches. (Length, 4 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

and it was considered best not to draw the string back too far when shooting, as, in that case, the arrows were supposed not to fly so sure.

For use in battle, arrowheads were often made of turtles' claws. These were attached with sturgeon glue, and were supposed to strike the enemy with the magic power of the turtle as well as with the force of the bow. Such arrows were named *ma'nanō'kwutāo*, and, if the speaker wished to particularize further, since bear- or panther-claws were sometimes utilized, he prefixed the name of the animal. Only those who had dreamed the right could be successful with such arrows, and then only against human targets.

Stone arrowheads were used in both war and hunting, white flint or quartz being preferred. Old Menomini claim that these stone points readily penetrated flesh, but were stopped by contact with bone. This, they say, was not the case with points of antler bone, which were tougher and less brittle. The latter varieties were made in hollow, conical shape, and were for the

chase alone. Copper points were semi-sacred and were for war. Bone-headed arrows were called by the same name as those with claw tips.

Although the elders declare that it has not been many generations since the Menomini were skilled in the art of chipping flint arrowpoints, there is no one now living who is acquainted with the process. Some think that a man was instructed, in a dream, how to manufacture them, and others add that it was customary for the ancestors to boil the flint in the grease of large and powerful animals, such as the elk and the moose, now extinct within the limit even of primitive Menomini territory. It is thought that when so treated "the flint could be cut like cheese." Seneca Iroquois of New York have told the writer that their ancestors boiled flint with certain herbs to make it fracture more easily.

In hafting heads of stone the distal end of the arrowshafts was broadened and flattened, and a deep slot made in it to retain the head, which was bound on with sinew and held fast with glue. Fig. 57 shows two

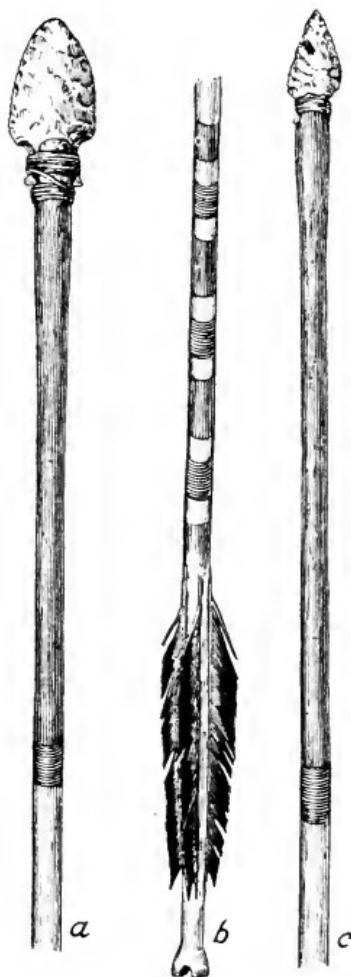


FIG. 57.—Hafted arrows. (Diameter of shafts, $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

old specimens, made and kept for many years by John Amob as the result of instructions received in a dream. The heads he picked up, but the shafting was done according to tradition. "Wild Jim Crow," or So'man Jim, several times showed the writer his set of stone-headed arrows hafted in this way, with which he assured me he had killed bear and deer. He used a long and powerful bow, and had also a quantity of iron- or steel-headed arrows. These, too, are no longer to be had.

In former times, as at present, arrows intended for hunting large game, or for war were feathered (*hana'watāo*) with three longitudinal strips made of split hawk- or turkey-feathers (fig. 57, b), about three to four inches long, bound on at the ends with a sinew. The feathers were made fast with glue concocted from the tips of the antlers, and the hoofs of deer.



FIG. 58.—
Glue-stick.
(Length,
 $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

When boiled down, this glue was kept in a lump on the end of a stick six or eight inches long, which served later as a handle in heating and in applying the substance. Fig. 58 shows a typical example of a glue-stick.

Warren says in his History of the Ojibways:

"The old men tell of using a kind of arrow in hunting for the larger animals in those primitive days, which I have never seen described in books. The arrow is made with a circular hole bored or burnt in the end in which was loosely inserted a finely barbed bone. Being shot into an animal, the arrow would fall off, leaving the barb in the body, and as the animal moved this would gradually work into its vitals and soon deprive it of life."¹⁹

This paragraph may perhaps explain the peculiar shape of some wooden arrows now used by the Menomini only as toys. They resemble arrows collected by the writer among the northern Saulteaux, which correspond in turn to those described by Warren. Arrows tipped with stone or with copper are frequently mentioned in Menomini folklore and mythology. On the ancient Menomini village-sites at the Suamicos

and at Oconto, are found triangular, stemmed, and notched arrowheads of white quartz and colored flints. Many were serrated finely and must have been formidable weapons. Hoffman says that the Menomini of his time claimed that their ancestors smeared their arrowheads with rattlesnake venom.

Several varieties of blunt arrows were and are used (fig. 59) for small game. These were of the blunt form called *pikwu'kutc*, with or without a nipple on the end; of a double-headed form named *papakenekwutä'o*; and of a plain, sharpened, and fire-hardened wooden form, called *asikunêkwutä'o*.

The Menomini used the tertiary arrow-release of Morse, as shown in the Handbook of American Indians, which is rather odd, since the neighboring Ojibwa use the primary and the



FIG. 59.—
Blunt arrow.
(Diameter of
shaft, $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)



FIG. 60.—Quilled quiver. (Length, 32 in.)

INDIAN NOTES

secondary releases. Bow-strings are made of heavy, tanned, deerskin thongs, although Hoffman states erroneously that they were made of sinew.

The old quiver illustrated in fig. 60 is one in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, which, from the style of the quilled ornamentation, closely resembles that found on Menomini otter-skin medicine-bags, and from the general form, common among the Central Algonkians, has been ascribed to the Menomini. No quivers have been made nor used by the tribe for a long time.

Modern hunting outfits are composed of the most up-to-date sporting paraphernalia to be purchased, but some conservative Indians still use old-fashioned percussion-cap rifles. There are yet to be seen among them ammunition bags made of buffalo-skin or saddle leather, consisting of a shoulder pouch, a powderhorn, an antler powder-charger, small pockets for caps and wads, pouches for shot, and a knife-sheath (pl. LXXXV). The writer has a leather pouch for caps and balls of more aboriginal character

which was given him by a Menomini friend as a relic of the famous chief Oshkosh, whose possession it once was. It is of plain tanned deerskin, about a foot long and three or four inches wide, made by folding a strip of leather lengthwise and sewing up one side with a deerskin thong. The bag folds in the middle to hang over the belt, and thus has two lobes, each of which is accessible through a longitudinal slit, resembling a double saddle-bag. The ends are slightly fringed. I have collected beaded specimens of this type among the Wahpeton Sioux, once friends of the Menomini.

VOCABULARY

Méti'kwop, bow.

métikwope'sa, tiny ceremonial bow.

mep, arrow.

SCULPTURE

The ornamental art of the Menomini, and as usual of all their Central Algonkian and Southern Siouan neighbors, comprises not only embroidery in quill- and bead-work, silk ribbon appliquéd, painting on skin, wood, and bark, and designs woven



STATUE OF THE GOD WA'BANO
Height, 3 ft., 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.



WOODEN PUPPET USED FOR PURPOSES OF MAGIC
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

in textiles, but sculpture in wood, and formerly in bone, antler, and stone. Sculpture proper was limited to the production of statues and statuettes of animal or anthropomorphic guardians of individuals.

A statue of the god *Wa'bano*, the Morning Star, is shown in pl. LXXXVI. This figure, once the property of the late father of Kime'wûn Oke'mas, who was a noted shaman of the *Wa'bano* cult, is crudely hewn from a log in nearly life-size, and presents the head and armless trunk of the deity. The eyes and mouth were once painted, but the pigment has weathered away. The idol now measures 3 ft. $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height, but has lost several inches of its basal portion, which has rotted. This image formerly stood upright at the eastern side of the old shaman's wigwam in the deep forest, a few miles from the so-called pagan settlement of Zoar, on the Menomini reservation. It represents the dream-guardian of the owner and was regarded as highly sacred by him, and, indeed, by all the neighboring Indians. Sacrifices were offered and feasts made in its honor several times each year.

On such occasions it was repainted and adorned with clothing, eagle-feathers, and offerings of calico and of bright-colored cloths. No profane eye was allowed to behold it, and the welfare, if not the very existence of the owner, depended on its good will. Another ruder image of the same sort stands behind the lodge of Wi'sâ-nokût Mo'sihat, not far from the village of Keshena. The writer knows of no other examples of large statues among either the Menomini or their neighbors.

CARVING

In pl. LXXXVII-LXXXIX may be seen examples of small wooden puppets used by the Indians, mainly for purposes of magic. They are decidedly better carved than the large figures previously described, and possess the usual human complement of arms and legs. The heads are often made separately and pivoted on the trunks so that they turn, but the limbs are carved of the same piece as the body, and are therefore rigid, hence the name *muzi'ninisa* (plural *muzinini'suk*), "solid" or "rigid being."



WOODEN PUPPET USED AS A LOVE CHARM

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



WOODEN PUPPET USED AS A LOVE CHARM
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

Some of these puppets are regarded as guardians of health and as personal or family gods of good will. In this case they are tucked carefully away in many wrappings and swaddlings, to which bits of bright-colored cloth, etc., with, of course, the inevitable tobacco, are added to keep them in good humor and to "attract" gifts of the same articles to the home. They maintain the family in good health and spirits, grant success in hunting and fishing, and soften the hearts of visitors so that they make presents to their hosts. There are set prayers to, and songs in honor of these figurines, and feasts are made periodically in their behalf. The custom is followed widely among the Central Algonkians, and runs as far east as the Shawnee and the Delawares.

Puppets of this type are used to destroy enemies. Just as the Salem witches were supposed to make and torment images of their victims, and thus assail the originals by sympathetic magic, so does the Menomini sorcerer get out his doll, name it after his intended prey, and, having invoked his

familiar demon with songs, prayers, food, and tobacco, proceed to torture or slay the effigy, secure in the belief that like disaster will overwhelm his enemy.

Two puppets of large size, carefully carved of wood, are shown in pl. LXXXVIII and LXXXIX. They are dressed in elaborate garments and swaddlings. Like others of their kind, their purpose is to keep a man and his wife faithful to each other. They are named for the contracting parties and tied up together face to face. In the breast of each is an opening in which are placed various love medicines, including, it is said, powder made from a dried and pounded human heart. The specimens under discussion were obtained by the writer from an old woman named Kopai'as Weke, of the Zoar settlement. The figurines had brought and bound to her no fewer than four husbands, but so great was their power that each unfortunate spouse died shortly after marriage. When the last, Thomas Hog, a favorite informant of the writer's, passed away, kopai'as decided that the charm was too potent, and turned it



WOODEN PUPPETS BOUND TOGETHER AS A LOVE CHARM
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



OWL CARVED IN WOOD

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

over to the collector. *Ukemá'was*, the most powerful luck-charm extant, compounded of vermillion and the glistening scales of the horned snake (bits of mica), are among the ingredients added to the pounded hearts to make this medicine what it is.

In pl. xc is shown a love-charm composed of two small, neatly carved, wooden figures, bound together face to face, with love-powder between them. A hair, a nail paring, or even a shred of the clothes of the person desired is inserted between the two, the proper song is sung, and the victim is powerless to resist the spell. Oddly enough, the old Menomini warriors' coiffure, the roach, is carved on both dolls. The attached beaded bag is intended to hold medicines. The little figures are only about four inches high.

An owl, carved in wood, is reproduced sitting on its sacred post, in pl. xci. This specimen, now in the American Museum of Natural History, was obtained by the writer from the late Pitwä'skûm. It was an evil charm, and was set on its stake, driven in the ground, during the perform-

ance of certain rites of sorcery, with the intent to kill human beings by magic. The sculpture is a rather spirited attempt to portray the barred or "hoot" owl, and is about ten inches in length. The post on which the bird is pivoted is about two and a half feet high.

Wooden and even stone bowls were sometimes carved to represent animals. Fig. 61

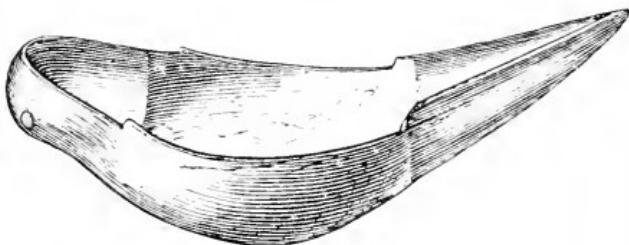


FIG. 61.—Wooden bowl carved to represent a porcupine.
(Extreme length, $8\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

shows a wooden bowl cut in the shape of a porcupine. Handles of spoons and ladles (pl. XCII) were decorated with similar figures. A horse's head carved as a handle on a small dish of red catlinite used for sacrificial tobacco is exhibited in pl. XCIII.

The carving of flattened figures was even more extensively practised among the



CARVED WOODEN SPOON
Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

SKINNER—MENOMINI CULTURE.

PL. XCIII



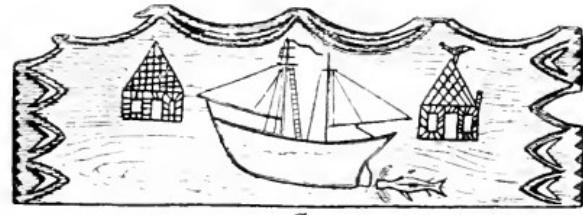
CARVED SACRIFICIAL DISH OF CATLINITE

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

Menomini and their neighbors than sculpture in the round. Bone, antler, and wood were the materials used. Dice cut from thin bone or antler were sometimes made to represent Thunderbirds or animals, such as turtles. Pl. XCIV gives a series of these.

CARVING IN RELIEF

On flat, wooden surfaces incised floral and realistic designs, evidently copied from



a



b

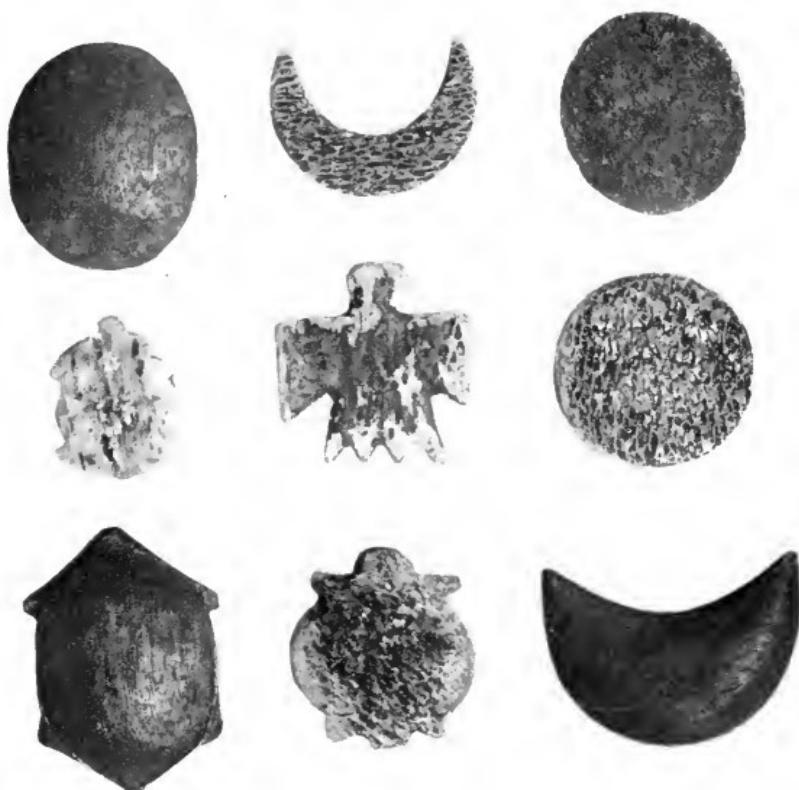
FIG. 62.—Carved moccasin patterns. (Length, about 12 in.)
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

textiles, are sometimes seen, usually further beautified by the addition of paint rubbed in the incisions. Fig. 62, *a*, *b*, represents

two boards of the kind placed under leather when cutting out the patterns for moccasins. The designs are ships, a fish, houses, joined hearts, and other native and acquired ideas. They are in the American Museum of Natural History.

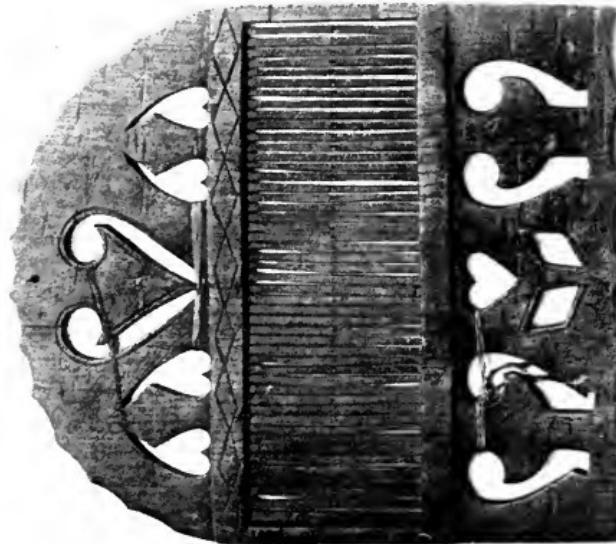
Similar carving is found on looms, or rather heddles, used in weaving beadwork (pl. xcv), and on articles of antler and of bone, such as the moose-antler comb-case in figs. 8 and 9. Floral designs and "war-clubs" or "lacrosse racquets" may be noted on the canoe paddle in fig. 63. This paddle, which is 31 in. long, is in the American Museum of Natural History. Carved ornamentation also occurs on the handles of lacrosse sticks and shinny clubs.

All the carved designs figured are by no means confined to the Menomini, but are found generally distributed among the neighboring tribes, except for the concept of the statue as exemplified in that of *Wa'bano*. This seems peculiar to the Menomini.

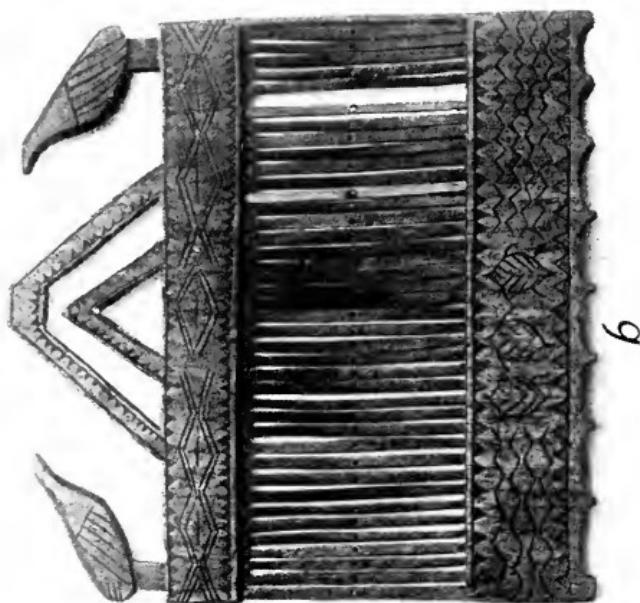


DICE CARVED OF BONE OR ANTLER

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



a



b

TWO HEDDLES CARVED IN RELIEF

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

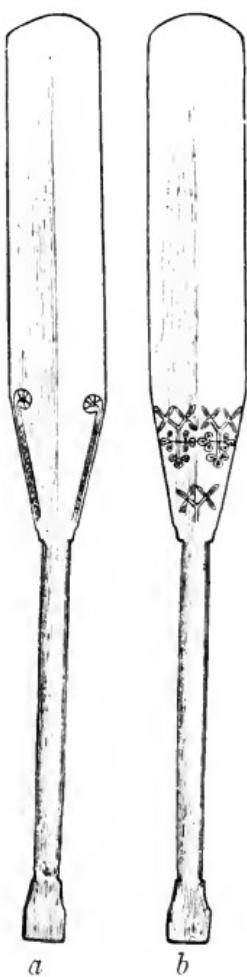


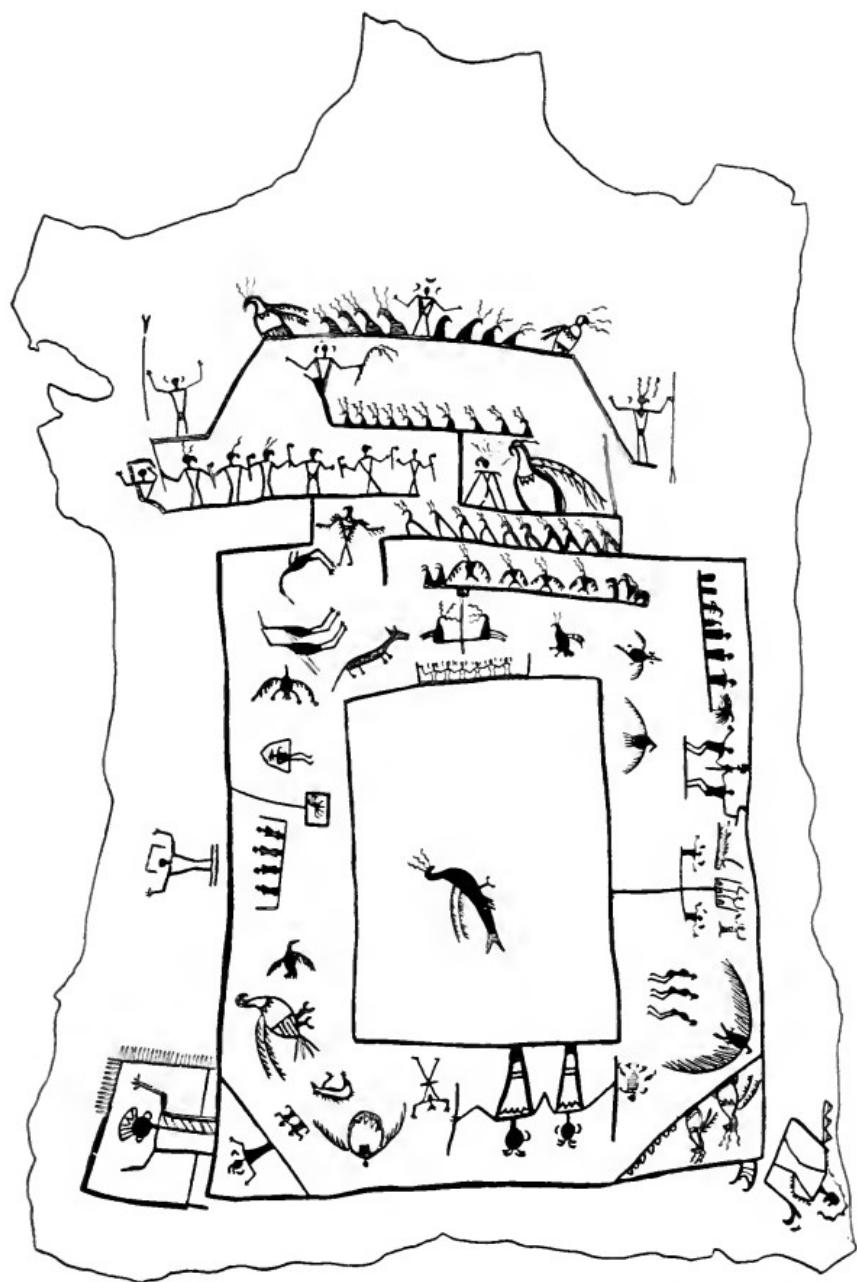
FIG. 63.—Canoe paddle, obverse and reverse. (Length,
31 in.)
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

PAINTING AND ETCHING

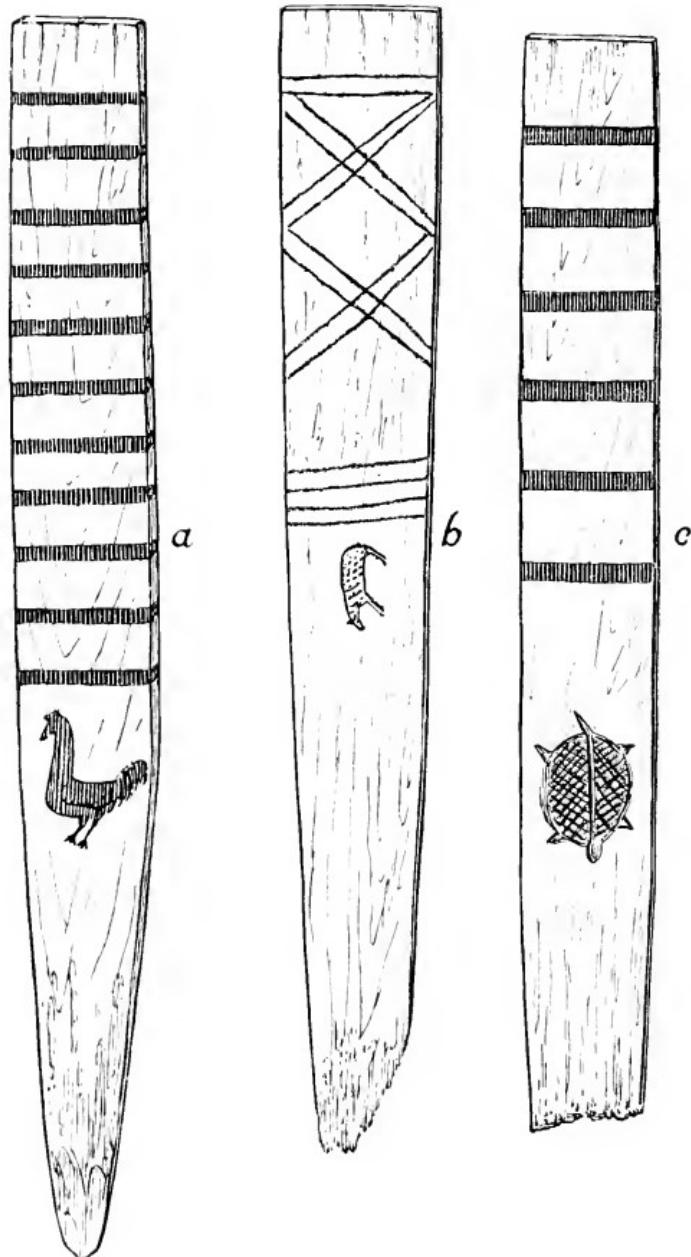
Portraits of men, animals, and manitous are sometimes painted on robes and scratched or etched on wood or bark. The writer once collected a war-bundle from the late Pitwa'skum which had, instead of the usual white fetus-skin wrapper, a tanned buckskin upon which were drawn, in archaic Algonkian style, in several colors, the gods connected with the bundle and all their powers. This was illustrated and described at length in the writer's article on Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles of the Menomini Indians,²⁰ and is shown in pl. xcvi. This is the best example which has yet come to my notice from any of the Central tribes.

Drawings on birch-bark, particularly as mnemonic reminders of *Mitü'win* formulæ, are not unknown, and four fine examples of these are given and described by the writer in the paper above referred to. These, and similar etchings on wood, are now rare in the tribe.

Pl. xcvi represents head-posts or markers



WAR-BUNDLE WRAPPER OF DEERSKIN ADORNED WITH DRAWINGS



GRAVE-POSTS, ETCHED AND PAINTED

from graves. In *b*, the totem animal, a bear, is inverted, as is always done to indicate death, and the horizontal bands of red paint indicate coups counted by warriors at the funeral. In *a*, a similar stick is illustrated, the totemic animal this time being a chicken, indicative that the deceased was of mixed blood. Through neglect on the part of the maker it is not inverted. In *c*, we have an example in which the animal, a turtle, is etched in the wood, but it was also originally painted with vermillion. Fig. 64 shows a similar grave-post of the Bear gens, the human figures representing slain enemies. The average height of these grave-posts is about two feet.

Fig. 65 represents a stake used in certain witch-bundle ceremonies. It is hollowed at the top, the cavity being a receptacle for medicine. Two human figures, male and female, are etched on its sides, and these are used in incantations to bewitch people. The turkey-beard attached is a potent evil charm.



FIG. 64.—Grave-post.
(Height, 28 in.)

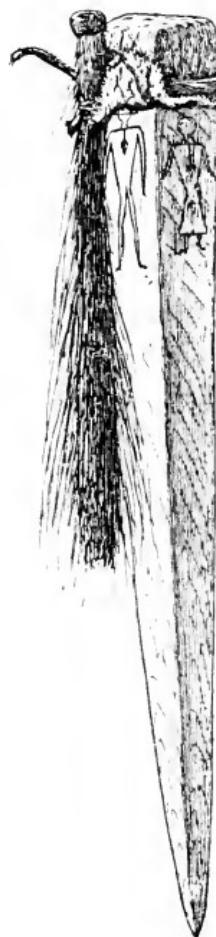


FIG. 65.—Sorcerer's stake.
(Height, 15½ in.)

In fig. 66 is shown a Menomini anthropomorphic concept of thunder, incised on a block of wood taken from a war-bundle. It represents either a man imbued with thunder-power or a Thunderer in human form. This is now in the American Museum of Natural History.



FIG. 66.—Anthropomorphic concept of thunder.
(Height of figure, 3 in.)
Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.

DYES

The Menomini are acquainted with a number of native dyes which they use for coloring mats, porcupine-quills, and other

articles. Green is thought by them to have been inaccessible before white contact, but Mr M. R. Harrington assures me that the Sauk and Fox were possessed of a native green dye, so that it is highly probable that the Menomini had some now forgotten means of obtaining this shade. All vegetal colors were obtained by boiling the ingredients. The following list of dyes and their names was recorded:

Yellow, *wasau'wîk*, obtained from sumac roots, and also from another unidentified plant.

Red, *sosa'kwîk*, from bloodroot. It was also secured by grinding or pulverizing hematite between two stones. It was sometimes called *papitcikowé'*.

Dark red, *muiskosawä*, or *sosa'wîk*, from hemlock-bark.

Black, *äpi'shîk*, *äpä'nik*, or *apisi'u'*, from butternut-bark, and for an intense shade, butternut-bark boiled with blue clay.

Blue, *aski'pukîk kanû'kwût*, literally 'green like the clouds.'

Green, *aski'pukîk*.

White, *wa'abîskit*.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

DRUMS

Among Menomini musical instruments, those of percussion easily take first place.

INDIAN NOTES

Three varieties of drums are still in common use, of which the most important, from a ceremonial point of view, is the deep water-drum, or *to'waka*. This is an ancient form, which appears time and again in the mythology of the tribe, and is associated with all the origin myths of the *Mitä'win*, or Medicine Dance ceremony. It is made by laboriously hollowing out a two-foot section of a whitewood log, and fitting in a thin, wooden disc at the base. The head is not made of rawhide, but, unlike those of all other drums, is composed of a heavy piece of tanned deerskin cut from the neck of a buck, where the skin attains its greatest thickness. This head, which is about eighteen inches in diameter, is stretched and held in place by means of a wooden hoop made of a willow branch squared and lashed in place, and pushed over the top, and down on the body of the drum. When it is desired to prepare the drum for use, from two to four fingers' depth of water, to which tobacco is added to please the genius of the drum, is poured into the bottom of the instrument; the head, otherwise

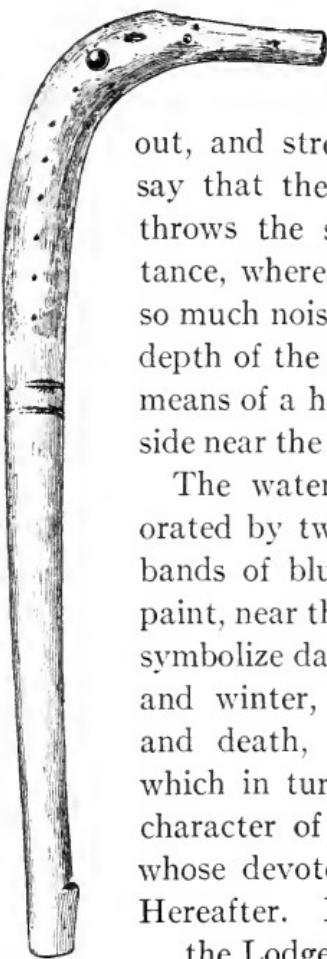


FIG. 67.—
Drumstick for
water-drum.
(Height,
 $12\frac{5}{8}$
in.)

soft and incapable of resonance, is then wet, wrung out, and stretched. The Indians say that the water in the drum throws the sound to a great distance, whereas it does not make so much noise near at hand. The depth of the water is regulated by means of a hole and a plug at one side near the bottom (pl. xcvi, *b*).

The water-drum is often decorated by two parallel, horizontal bands of blue, or green, and red paint, near the base. These colors symbolize day and night, summer and winter, joy and sorrow, life and death, and hence eternity, which in turn signifies the lasting character of the Medicine Lodge, whose devotees attain life in the Hereafter. In the ceremonies of

the Lodge this drum is used ex-

clusively, although its use is not confined to these rites.

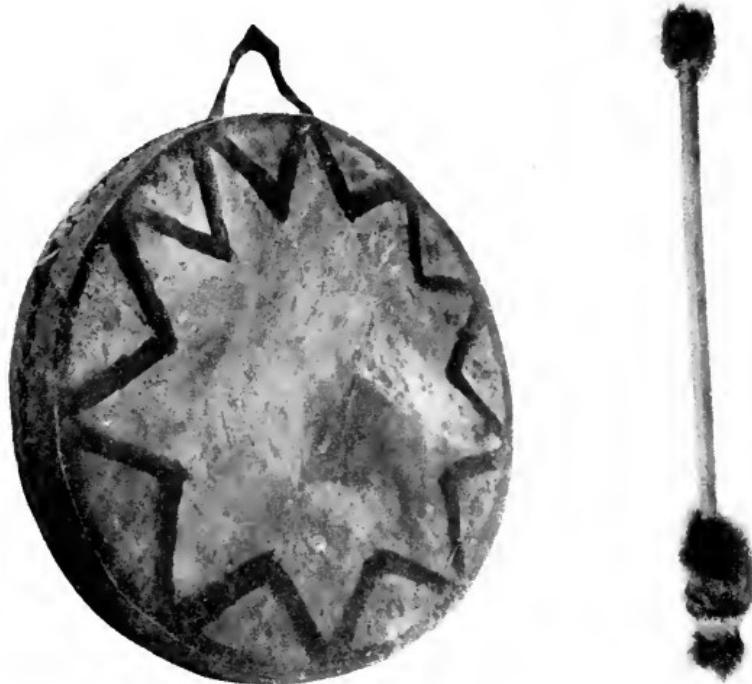
For beating the water-drum,



DRUMS
a, Used in the woman's dance; *b*, The water-drum. Diameter of *a*, 15 in.; of *b*, 15½ in.

SKINNER—MENOMINI CULTURE

PL. XCIX



DRUM AND STICK OF THE WA'BANO CULT
Photographs by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

a stick about a foot long with the distal end curved downward is used. In many specimens the striking end of the stick is carved to represent the head of the loon, or of some other animal (fig. 67). When traveling, the owner of a water-drum carries it in a large bag of white cloth, closed by a draw-string, with tasseled ends of bright-colored yarn. It is probable that similar receptacles of plain tanned deerskin were formerly made. For further data and illustrations of other articles used in the Medicine Dance, the reader is referred to the writer's paper entitled *Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini, Iowa, and Wahpeton, Indian Notes and Monographs*, vol. IV.

A huge and elaborately decorated drum, called *tä'wähigün*, is used only in the rites of the Society of Dancing Men, popularly called the "Dreamers." This is not an ancient form, and all specimens seen by the writer have been made over a foundation composed of a large galvanized iron wash-tub with the base cut out. Over the top and the bottom are stretched raw calfskin heads under the uppermost of which a

sleigh- or cow-bell is hung. The heads are painted half red and half blue, or green, according to custom. The sides are festooned with beadwork in woven belts or bands, and with perforated silver coins. At four equidistant intervals are placed leather loops, so that the drum when in service may be suspended from four elegantly beaded stakes, or supports; for this drum, unlike the water-drum, is never permitted to touch the ground. Between the supports are small, decorative, beaded flaps, generally bearing figures of human hands or heads. When the drummers desire to beat the head of this, or of any other type of drum possessing a membrane of rawhide, the head is first heated before the fire. The drumsticks are wrapped with beads and strips of otter-fur, with cloth padding at the striking end.

When not in use this drum is kept in a shrine built in a corner of the wigwam or log cabin of one of the devotees belonging to the local branch of the Dreamers which owns the drum. As it is sacred it is never left without an attendant; and, as the drums

are always the common property of a ceremonial group, the writer has never been able to collect one. For further information as to the ceremonies of the Dreamers, consult the articles by Barrett and by Skinner on the Dream Dance.²¹

A smaller type of drum is shown in pl. XCIII, *a*, which represents an instrument used in the so-called "Woman's Dance" recently introduced by the Winnebago. Little need be said of this drum save that, except in size and ornamentation, it almost duplicates the one just described. It is by no means regarded as sacred.

The third and last variety of drum known to the Menomini is the tambourine drum, or *tawähigä'sa*. These instruments, of fairly large size, that is eighteen inches to two feet in diameter, are used to accompany the singers at the moccasin game, but very much smaller specimens, six inches in diameter, or perhaps a trifle larger, are used by shamans of the *Wa'bano* and the *Je'sako* cults. While the ornamental painting on drums of this class used for pleasure is of a purely decorative character (pl. XCIX),

those of the shamans bear esoteric figures, relating to the mystic dreams of their users. The tiny drum shown in pl. c was ob-

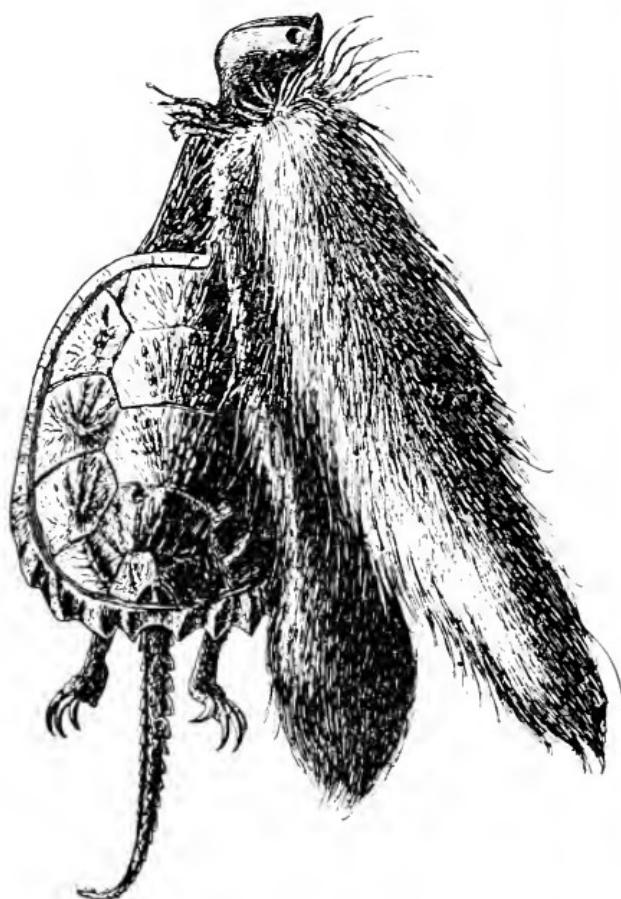


FIG. 68.—Tortoise charm attached to the Wa'bano drum.
(Height, 8½ in.)

PL. C

SKINNER—MENOMINI CULTURE



TINY DRUM OF THE WA'BANO KIME'WUN
Diameter, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.



PLAYING THE LOVER'S FLUTE

Photograph by courtesy of the Public Museum, Milwaukee

tained from the estate of a noted *Wa'bano* named Kime'wûn, and bears designs of unknown significance. It has attached to it a bunch of the tails of the woodchuck (*Arctomys monax*) which presumably have no meaning, and a small, dried, snapping tortoise (*Chelydra serpentina*), which is one of the mysterious animals from which the shaman's power was derived (fig. 68). Inside some little drums of this character, beads, seeds, pebbles, or shot serve to add a rattling noise. To many are attached the four sacred *oka'nûk*, short, hollow, bone cylinders (fig. 69) swallowed by the conjurer to enable him to see through the body of a patient, and thus locate the cause of disease, and also to suck out sickness. The drumstick used with this drum is short and knobbed.

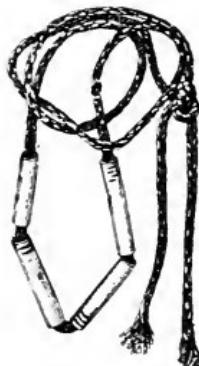


FIG. 69.—Shaman's necklace. (Length of beads, about 2 in.)

RATTLES AND JINGLERS

The common form of ceremonial rattle is called *shi'shikwûn*, and is made of a gourd, the pulp of which is removed while fresh. When the gourd has dried, a few shot, glass beads, seeds, or pebbles, are placed inside,

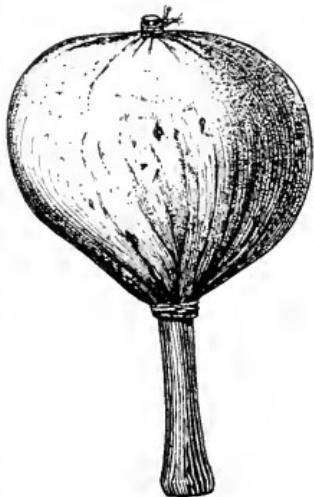


FIG. 70.—Gourd rattle.
(Length, 8½ in.)

and a wooden handle is thrust lengthwise through the small end of the hollowed shell to the broad distal end, which is pierced by it, and is made fast by means of a transverse peg of wood (fig. 70). If the gourd splits or cracks a piece of the translucent intestinal integument of some animal is stretched over it while green, as is shown in the specimen figured. This dries hard, and closes the crack. The writer has never seen a Menomini gourd rattle ornamented in any way. When not in use,



FIG. 71.—Gourd rattle in conical case of bark. (Length, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

gourd rattles are often protected by a conical case or wrapping of birch-bark, which prevents damage should they fall from their hanging places in the lodge (fig. 71).



FIG. 72.—Deer-hoof and dew-claw rattle.
(Length, 14½ in.)

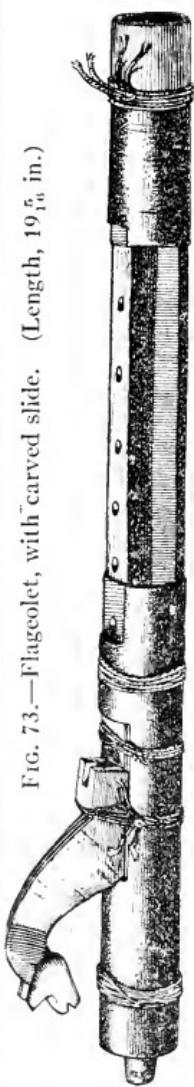
Used for ceremonies of the most sacred sort, and especially for those connected with the medicine-bundles, are rattles made of deer-hoofs and dew-claws (fig. 72). These are threaded on fine buckskin thongs passed through a little hole bored in the point, and knotted to prevent their slipping off the string. They are attached to a shank or handle a foot or less in length. The handle is whittled to a point at the proximal end, that the instrument may be thrust upright in the ground at the conclusion of the rites. Some examples, more elaborately carved than usual, have figures of Thunderbirds, or their heads, on the upper or distal ends.

Jinglers made of cut deer-hoofs were formerly attached to garments, and, no doubt, to moccasins, but the only survivals which the writer saw were on ceremonial fur wrist-bands. The elders declare that the tinkle of these jinglers, called *nani'hanen*, worn by warriors during surprise attacks by night, was potent to lull the enemy to sleep. In modern time these attachments were supplanted by conical, metal jinglers, from which protruded scarlet-dyed deer-hair tufts. In form, the jinglers are exactly similar to those still picked up on historic Iroquois sites in New York state.

In some bundle ceremonies the songs are accompanied by tapping together two sticks shaped like drumsticks. An ancient pair of these which were formerly kept in the great hunting medicine-bundle, known as *misa'sakiwîs*, was once obtained by the writer. Age and much use had nearly worn them in two.

WHISTLES AND FLUTES

Whistles, six inches to a foot long, are made of reeds from the Mississippi valley, or

FIG. 73.—Flageolet, with carved slide. (Length, 19 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

from split alder with the pith removed. They give a feeble, piping note, and are used in war and in war-bundle ceremonies to call the Thunderers to the assistance of the braves.

Flutes or flageolets are carved of two pieces of cedar, hollowed, carefully glued, and lashed together. They are of large size, measuring some two feet or more in length and two or two and one-half inches in thickness. As these instruments are used almost exclusively in courting, they are highly prized, and usually handsomely ornamented with strips of otter- or mink-fur fastened around them in bands. The slide by which the tone of the flageolet is regulated, is often carved to represent some animal of especially amorous nature. Fig. 73, for example, shows a

spirited stallion's head. It is notable that in general form these carved slides closely resemble the problematical bird-stones of archaeology. Flageolets usually possess six holes, and it is the intention of the player in each instance to imitate as nearly as possible the actual words of the song he is rendering. If he is able to make his notes quaver as well, he is considered an artist (pl. ci). Flutes which have been used in successful courtships soon acquire a reputation for their power over female affections, and become in great demand among the youths. Such instruments are rented out at a good price. The native name of the flute is *pipi'gwün*, and it finds frequent mention in folklore and in mythology.

RECEPTACLES FOR TOBACCO

ORIGIN OF TOBACCO

According to the mythology of the Menomini, tobacco was procured for the Indians by *Mä'näbus*, who instructed his uncles and his aunts, the people, to capture great quantities of grasshoppers and cause them to spit out the tobacco they were

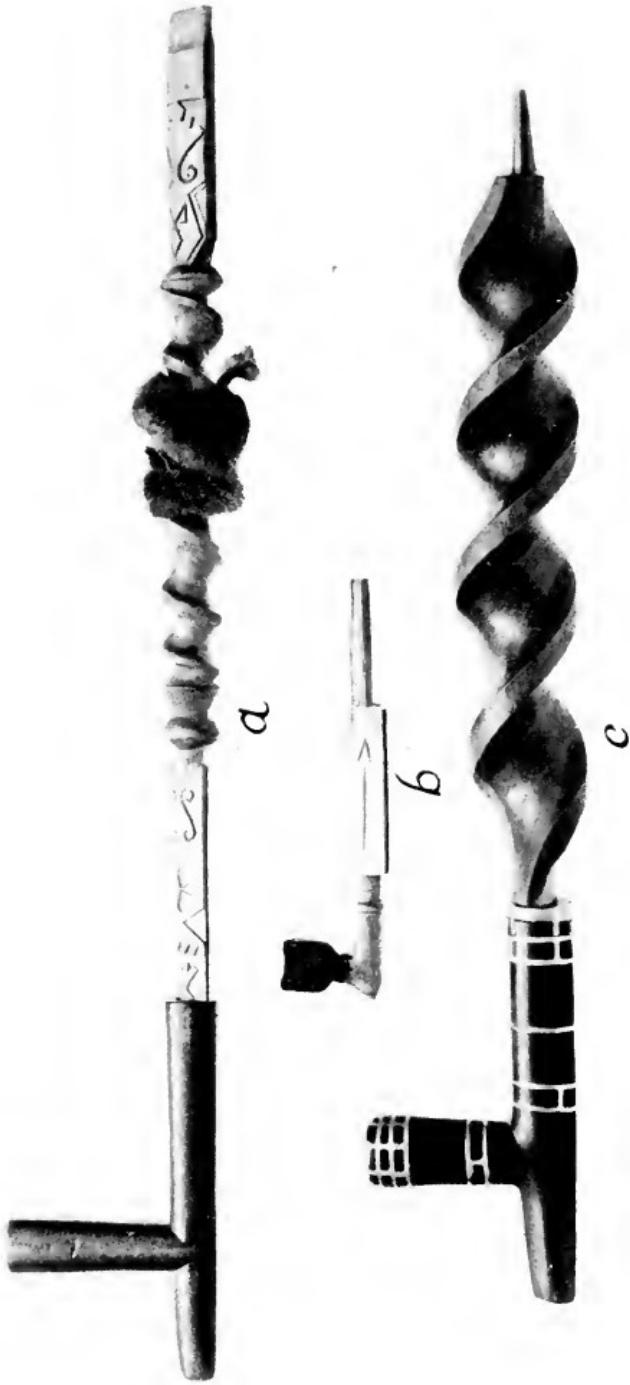
chewing. Of course this was a liquid, but the Indians kept it until it hardened in the form of plug tobacco. Moreover, up to the present time grasshoppers still spit tobacco, when they are caught, so that no one need doubt the truth of the story.

As a matter of fact the Menomini not only do not grow tobacco but disclaim all knowledge of its cultivation, although it is raised by their neighbors the Woodland Potawatomi. Whether tobacco was unknown to them in olden times is a question which it is difficult to answer; they may have obtained it from their neighbors, or they may have smoked only substitutes in their stone and earthen pipes. The possession of the origin myth for tobacco, given above, may be taken as evidence contradicting the statements that they did not know the native herb, or it may be regarded as a modern folk explanation, especially as the custom of chewing tobacco seems to be a modern development. As to tobacco substitutes, they are still used, but chiefly to adulterate commercial tobacco. The Menomini make use of the dried bark of



FRAME FOR DRYING K'NIKINÍK

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History



PIPE-BOWLS WITH WOODEN STEMS
a, c, Of stone; b, Of limestone. $\frac{1}{2}$ of b. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

the red willow, and dried sumac leaves. Both these materials go by the popular name of *ki'nikinik*, though the writer is in doubt as to whether the term is aboriginal in the language of this tribe. In preparing *ki'nikinik*, a rough Y-shaped frame about a yard long is cut from a small crotched sapling, and a crude coarse matting of basswood-bark is woven across the extended arms (pl. cii). On this the *ki'nikinik* is spread, and thus dried over a fire. The frame is called *apä'sawan*; tobacco is termed *nä''nemau*.

SACRIFICIAL DISHES

For holding tobacco sacrifices at shrines, and during ceremonies, elaborately carved dishes are often used. A small wooden bowl carved to represent a porcupine is shown in fig. 61. This receptacle was used to hold sacrificial tobacco in the family of Nwägi'sikwäp for many generations. A more common form is represented in fig. 74. This is a flat platter of wood with incised decorations carved on the ends, and afterward rubbed with red paint. A rare

example is a small round bowl of catlinite with a projecting handle made to represent the head of a horse (pl. xciii). Sometimes

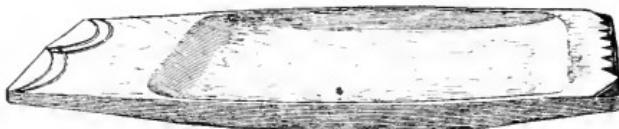


FIG. 74.—Sacrificial platter with incised carvings. (Length, 12 in.)

miniature wooden canoes are fashioned (fig. 75) exactly like real ones, except for their smaller size. These are carried in



FIG. 75.—Miniature canoe, a charm against drowning. (Length, 9½ in.)

accordance with warnings received in dreams, as charms against drowning, and serve to hold tobacco.

PIPES

The last vestige of the art of working stone among the Menomini survives in the manufacture of stone pipes. As this people has always been the one Woodland Algon-

kian tribe uniformly friendly to the Sioux, they have always had access to the catlinite quarries of Minnesota, though the journey to that locality was so long, and lay through the range of so many hostile war parties, that the supply was limited, and the stone accordingly valued. Some small, rough, rectangular blocks of catlinite, quarried generations ago, are still treasured possessions of fortunate Menomini individuals, who value each at one hundred dollars, or its equivalent in ponies. Notwithstanding the high price placed on the rough material, the blocks seen by the writer would not suffice to make more than two pipes each, and finished pipe-bowls bear the value, usual in all the forested region, of five dollars apiece. A poorer quality of catlinite, of a darker red than that from Minnesota, is found in certain localities in Wisconsin,²² and this is freely utilized. As the writer has never had the good fortune to observe the Menomini process of pipe-making, or to be acquainted with one of that people skilled in the art, data on the process cannot be given, but it is to be presumed that it

differs little from that still employed by the Eastern Sioux. Menomini pipes are nearly always of the Siouan form. The women of this tribe do not often smoke miniature stone pipes, as do the women of the Ojibwa, but use the ordinary corn-cob and briar pipes of commerce. Large or small, the stone pipes seem usually to be the property of the men.

The Menomini frequently inlay their pipes with pewter, other metals, or dark-colored stone, but the writer does not recall having seen any dark stone pipes among them. Some of the larger pipes have floral or animal designs scratched on their sides. Some pipes are carved to represent fish or other animals, and often have stone stems; but all those seen by the writer were probably obtained from the Sioux. No doubt the prehistoric pipes of the Menomini were of the curved-base monitor, pebble, and other types commonly found on archeological sites in Wisconsin, but for complete data on this subject one must turn to the collections made at the ancient sites of the tribe on Green bay. The

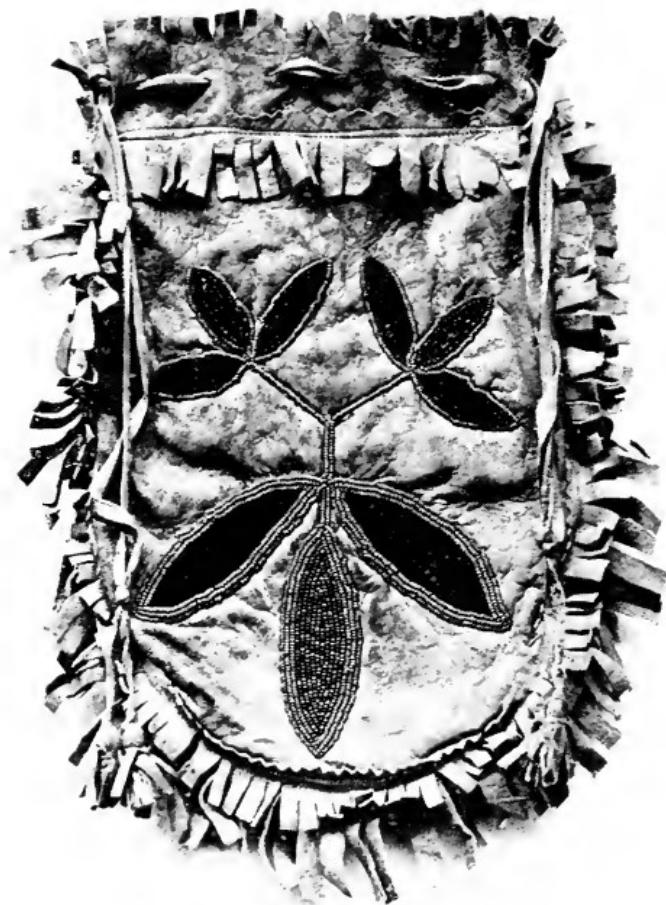
writer has seen fragments of a rather ornamental terracotta pipe, with fine, small, incised decoration, found on the formerly occupied site at the junction of Little and Oconto rivers.

The stems of the catlinite pipes are ordinarily made of wood, and vary considerably in length, but most of them are about eighteen inches to two feet long. Those used in connection with public ceremonies or "belonging" to the Dream Dance drum, are very much longer, sometimes reaching a length of four feet. The stems are often broad, flat, and thin, and are carved in open or lattice designs, and painted in various colors. In some cases the stem is carved spirally until it resembles an auger. Pl. CIII represents a series of pipe-bowls and stems. In former times pipe-stems were adorned with porcupine-quills, but now strung or woven glass beads are used. Otter-fur strips are wound around the stems, and silver is used as inlay. War- and peace-pipes had a fan of eagle-feathers attached beneath the stems.

The Menomini early obtained or made

pipe-bowls of metal. A war-pipe in the American Museum of Natural History, collected by the late Dr William Jones, has a bowl, rather pretty in design, of cast pewter. A brass pipe, in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, is shown in pl. ciii, b. It is the only specimen of this character that the writer has ever observed among any of the Woodland tribes. It is doubtful if the Indians ever made pipes of this nature, and from its well-made character the writer is inclined to ascribe it to the famous maker of pipe-tomahawks, Jourdain. It was bought for the writer by John V. Satterlee from an Indian residing on the Menomini reservation, at Zoar settlement. For further treatment of Menomini pipes, and the prehistoric pipes of the ancient Menomini country, the reader is referred to the papers by Barrett²³ and by West.²⁴

Pipe-tomahawks are not uncommon among the Menomini, and are of iron, sometimes nickeled, and of brass. The heads have been obtained in trade from the



TOBACCO-POUCH WITH FLOWER DESIGN IN BEADS
Length, 14 in.



TOBACCO-POUCH OF WOVEN YARN

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

whites, and the stems, ornamented with fur strips, beadwork, silver inlay, or pyrography are made by the natives. The Indians also sometimes imitate the metal pipe heads in catlinite. In spite of the fact that these articles have such long association with things Indian, they are of white origin and provenience, and therefore need not be further described nor figured here.

VOCABULARY

Apú'agún, pipe.
makú'sasen apú'agún, redstone pipe.
'puagúna'tik, pipe-stem.
pe'tcínamauan, tobacco-bag.
nä''nemau, tobacco.

BAGS AND POUCHES FOR TOBACCO

For holding tobacco a variety of styles of leather bags are made; but the variations lie mainly in the matter of size and in the arrangement of the puckering string, in accordance with devices common throughout the Woodland tribes. The general style of Menomini tobacco-bags is that of a small, soft pouch, with a very short, plain fringe, entirely unlike the long and elabo-

rate bags of the Plains tribes, which are made large enough to contain the pipe as well as the tobacco of the smoker. Menomini bags are frequently ornamented with the usual tribal style of conventionalized flower designs in beads. Plate CIV gives a typical example. Such bags are commonly carried in the belt. Sometimes the drawstrings are ornamentally beaded.

Tobacco-pouches are not uncommonly made from the skins of small mammals, such as skunks, woodchucks, mink, marten, and kit otters. The skin is taken off entire, through a longitudinal slit a few inches in length made in the chest-band, and is carefully tanned. Such bags rarely bear any ornamentation, and may always be distinguished from medicine-bags by the fact that they do not have the symbolic tufts of dyed down thrust through the nostrils.

Tobacco-pouches of woven yarn, with designs in white beads interwoven with the threads, were formerly worn around the neck and over the chest. A good example of one of these now rare articles is shown in

pl. cv. These pouches are also often seen among the Potawatomi.

PARAPHERNALIA FOR GAMES

Owing to the fact that the games of the Menomini have been already described in the section dealing with Social Organization (see pages 56-58), nothing more than a brief recapitulation will be given here. For lacrosse, sticks of two types are used (pl. cvi, *b*, and fig. 76). The balls are of tanned deerskin, about the size of baseballs, and are stuffed with deer-hair (fig. 77). Both sticks and balls, particularly the latter, are often symbolically painted in red and black.

Shinny is played with a short, straight stick (fig. 78), and a double ball of leather (fig. 79), generally painted red. For the dice game, a round, wooden



FIG. 76.—Ordinary lacrosse stick. (Length. 3 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

bowl and a set of bones or wooden dice (pl. xciv) are necessary. Six of the dice are discs; the rest are carved to represent half-moons, tortoises, or Thunderbirds, and are colored red, black, blue, or green on one side, and left white on the other.

A short form of the snow-snake (pl. cvi, a)

and a wooden wand with a slender shaft and a weight or knob at one end, are used for distance hurling over the ice. The typical Algonkian cup-and-pin game, *petcikona'hikûn* (pl. cvii), is played by the Menomini. The pin is of wood, the cups being made from the phalangeal bones

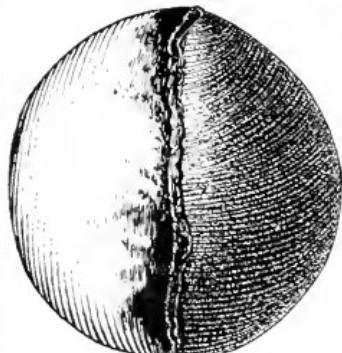


FIG. 77.—Lacrosse ball.
(Diameter, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.)



FIG. 78.—
Shinny stick.
(Length, 24
in.)



SNOW-SNAKE, AND PONY-FOOT LACROSSE STICK
Length of *a*. 36 in.



CUP-AND-PIN GAME

Photograph by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

of the deer, ground down to hollow cones. This game is played only as a hunting-charm. Darts of wood, smoked while spirally wrapped with green bark to give a twisted decoration, are used by boys for distance throwing. The moccasin game, though popular at one time, is seldom played now. It needs no special paraphernalia. Bow-and-arrow games are played with miniature bows decoratively painted in gay colors, and blunt arrows.



FIG. 79.—Shinny
balls. (Length,
20 in.)

VII. ARCHEOLOGY



IN LATE June, 1919, the writer, accompanied by his assistant, Mr John V. Satterlee, and Dr S. A. Barrett of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, were enabled to visit several of the ancient Menomini village-sites along the west shore of Green bay, in Brown and Oconto counties, Wisconsin, through the kindness of Messrs J. P. Schumacher and Neville of the city of Green Bay. These gentlemen not only permitted the examination of their private collections, but also coöperated with Miss Deborah Marten of the Kellogg Public Library of Green Bay in reviewing the collection there.

The sites visited were *Mätc Sua'mäko* at Big Suamico, *Suamäko'sa* at Little Suamico; *Wa'sa'kiu*, or High Banks, on the Oconto river near the city of that name, and a series of other sites in its environs; also *Pa'skä'nano'* at the junction of Oconto and

Little rivers. While of a cursory nature, these examinations brought out many interesting facts.

First: The ancient habitat of the Menomini was situated under different physiographic conditions from those of their present reservation. All their early towns were either on the lake shore at mouths of the Menominee, the Oconto, the Peshtigo, the Suamicos, and the Pensaukee, or on the banks of these streams, as a rule not very far inland. To this there were exceptions, however, for according to Menomini tradition, and archeological evidence as well, there were early settlements inland on the Wolf, on the present reserve, a locality easily reached by portage from the Oconto.

At the time of white contact, and for a long time before and after, the former culture of the Menomini must have been almost maritime, and strongly differentiated from that of more recent years. It was essentially a culture of wild rice, fish, and lake products.

Second: The Menomini were sedentary, living more or less permanently on their

principal sites, except for seasonal changes, as when they went far inland on their fall and winter hunts. Some of the Green bay sites have been occupied by the Menomini as far back as they have any tradition. Indeed, their origin myth speaks of the first Menomini coming out of the ground as a bear on the site at the mouth of the Menominee river. Subsequent to the arrival of white settlers, the tribe was dislodged by successive purchases from the old shoreline home, and began to scatter and withdraw inland. The greater part of those who still dwelt on the old spots were moved to the present reservation in 1852 and the years immediately following. A few, principally of mixed blood, still remain. Two Indians by the name of Adams dwelt at *Mätc Sua'mäko*, and an old woman, Mrs Misha'kwût (Covered by Clouds), resided at High Banks in 1919. The relics on the sites therefore range from prehistoric to late historic times.

Third: The type of culture indicated by the specimens obtained or seen goes to show that the Menomini belonged to the same

group as the neighboring Green bay tribes, the Potawatomi, Ottawa, Sauk, Fox, and Winnebago.

Fourth: Specimens from the sites examined are identical with those obtained from the mounds opened by Dr Barrett and the writer on the present Menomini reservation in Shawano county. The form and decoration of the pottery in particular was the same. The Menomini sites, however, yielded objects of native copper, bone specimens, and pipes, not as yet reported from the mounds, and perhaps representing a later phase or local development of the same culture. The fact that the Menomini in general deny that they ever made mounds means very little. Fashions die out and are forgotten among all races. That not all Menomini are of the same opinion regarding the non-use of mounds by their people may well be demonstrated by the following data:

In June, 1920, Jim Paiä'tckowit, or, properly Bûna'i-gi'zik (Opposite Sky), informed the writer that there is a buffalo effigy mound on the plains near the Peshtigo

river, not far from Sandstone falls, above Ellis Junction, Wis., close to the residence of a white man named Seymour. Bûna'i-gi'zik declares that a war party of Ojibwa was traveling along the river; their leader had previously dreamt that some important object would be encountered on the march. About noon some members of his company observed a buffalo standing on a knoll, and recognized the animal as the fulfilment of their partisan's dream. As the warriors gazed, the buffalo sank into the ground and vanished without leaving a track or sign. They made a mound there in the form of a buffalo, which still remains as a monument to this portent. Since then, Bûna'i-gi'zik says, the Menomini have made similar mounds, in imitation of the original, in various parts of the territory, during the ceremonials in honor of the buffalo—perhaps that of the Buffalo Dance.

The locality on the Peshtigo is called by the Menomini *Pishakipsanamakênikasit*, "The Place Where the Buffalo is Outlined."

TYPES OF SPECIMENS FROM MENO-MINI SITES

The following objects were noted from the Menomini sites examined, but, as before stated, they are probably common to all the tribes in the neighborhood as well:

Stone

Grooved, and, possibly, fluted axes.

Celts.

Gorgets, principally the two-holed form.

Winged bannerstones.

Notched, stemmed, triangular, and serrated arrowpoints.

Drills.

Scrapers.

Oval or leaf-shaped knives.

Copper

Knives.

Arrows, socketed, stemmed, and notched.

Celts.

A copper bannerstone, of small size, is reported by Mr Schumacher from Oconto.

Fishhooks, awls, and beads.

Clay

Pointed-bottomed jars with decorations stamped with a cord-wrapped stick, or rarely, with incised chevrons.

Pipes.

The abundance, excellence, and variety of the stone-work, the scarcity of bone and horn material, and the pointed jars with stamped decoration made by the impression of the cord-wrapped stick, all link the Menomini with the Algonkian peoples farther east. Copper, too, in New York at least, is characteristic of Algonkian and not of Iroquois culture.

While bone and antler are still used to some extent by the Menomini in the manufacture of implements, stone and clay are things of the past, and so is native copper. However, traditions still persist about the use of these materials, and the kinds of objects made. In a few instances specimens have survived as heirlooms. According to Hoffman:

"Previous to the advent of white traders, or before they were able to procure by purchase or barter beads of European manufacture, the Menomini claim to have made large beads from shells found in the rivers of Wisconsin and on the shores of Green bay. Quite a variety of large and exceedingly beautiful freshwater shells occur in the rivers of Wisconsin, and it would be strange indeed if the natives did not utilize the iridescent pearl for ornamentation when at

the same time they used them as knives. Among some of the old mitä'v women large beads, together with the elongated shell beads purchased at traders' stores, are worn—beads of sufficiently primitive appearance to induce one to believe the assertion that their people had made them.

"These beads were evidently made from the thick portions, or perhaps joints, of freshwater mussels; they are of the size of buckshot, with a perforation drilled from each end toward the middle. The perforations being somewhat of funnel shape, and showing marked striae, would indicate that the drilling had been made with other than a metal instrument. On subsequent investigation respecting the manufacture of articles requiring perforation, I was informed that the Menomini used sharp-pointed pieces of quartz and jasper, rotating these rude drills with the hand and fingers."²⁵

In another place Hoffman says:

"The Indians agree in the statement that the making of stone weapons was discontinued by them four generations ago. Shu'nien remembers hearing the old people speak about the manner of using these stone objects. The knives were made of flint (hornstone), and were about 8 inches long, an inch and a half broad, and sharply pointed; some indeed were sharp enough to cut moose skin with ease. These implements were used in cutting meat, for scraping arrowshafts, and in making bows.

"Some of the Menomini say that mussel-shells are used even today, when necessity de-

mands, both for spoons and for cutting. They are also sometimes used for scraping deerskin in tanning. The survival of the practice of thus using shells is not at all astonishing, for they serve the purpose as well as almost anything else, and thick strong shells of several species are abundant in Wisconsin.

"Earthenware is no longer made by the Menomini, though some of the oldest women remember when pottery making was engaged in."²⁶

The writer has fairly full data on the making of earthenware which are presented on pages 282-284.

EXISTING VOCABULARY FOR ANCIENT ARTIFACTS

A'sēn mita'kūn, stone scraper.

a'sēn kuski'kahikan, stone hide-scraper.

oka'na, or *oka'ne*, bone awl.

a'sēn ināna'ba, stone axe (lit. 'stone original iron; ' the ancient name has been lost).

osauwa'pa mo'koman, native copper knife.

a'sēn mo'koman, stone knife.

asēnme'p, stone-headed arrow.

osauwa'pamep, copper-pointed arrow.

VIII. ETHNOGEOGRAPHY GEOGRAPHICAL BAND NAMES

 IN ADDITION to the division of the tribe into gentes, the Menomini were formerly split up into a number of geographical groups, each taking its name from the locality in which it resided. As now remembered these were:

Oka"to Wini'niwûk, Pike Place people, dwelling at the mouth of the Oconto river. This was one of the ancient original groups of the tribe.

Pä'sä'tiko Wini'niwûk, Peshtigo River people, dwelling at the mouth of the river whose name they bear. The meaning of the name is lost, but it may mean a current eddying. An original ancient group.

Minika'ni Wini'niwûk, Village people. This band had their village at the mouth of the Menominie river, which was called the *Minika'ni*, or Village river, on this account. It is looked upon as the oldest or parent group of the tribe, for here the animal ancestors of the Menomini are supposed to have come out of the ground and turned

themselves into men. Menomini born at the mouth of the river proudly boast of the fact.

Mä!c Sua'mäko Tusi'nini^u, Great Sand Bar people. This band lived on the sand dunes at what is now called Big Suamico, on Green bay. An original group. The locality is still prominent in mythology as the place where Mä"näbus performed the episode of the shut-eye dance.

Sua'mäkosa Tusi'nini^u, Little Sand Dune people. An offshoot of the Oka"to band, living on the sandhills of Little Suamico.

Nämä'o Wikito' Tusi'ni^u, Sturgeon Bay people. Dwelt at Sturgeon Bay, and were likely an original group.

Mukwä'o Se'peo Wini'niwük, Wolf River people. Lived on upper stretches of the stream. May have been a part of the Oka"to band, who lived on Green bay during the summer, and hunted inland, dwelling in the warm, wooded river valley in winter.

Kaka'pa'kato' Wini'niwük, Barricade Falls people. Lived at Keshena falls of Wolf river on the present reservation. Perhaps an offshoot of the preceding band. The Menomini claim that a few families always lived inland on the Wolf.

Powahé'kune Tusi'niniwüg, Rice-gathering-place people. Dwelt on Lake Poygan. Probably a more recent group which came into being subsequent to the dispersal of the tribe.

Kakewä'nikone Tusi'niniwüg, Portage people. Lived at Portage, Wis.; a more recent group, in all probability.

Wi'skos Se'peo Wini'niwûk, Wisconsin River people. *Wi'skos*, or *Wi'skos's*, means a little muskrat house, and from this the name Wisconsin is derived. This band and the next were hardy adventurers who strayed over to the Mississippi, and were in friendly touch with the Santee and other eastern Sioux.

Kipisa"kia Wini'niwûk, River Mouth people. Resided at Prairie du Chien.

Nomä'kokon Se'peo Tusi'niniwûg, Beaver River people. Lived near Winneconne (*Wini-ku'ni*, a skull), Fond du Lac, and Oshkosh. Said to be an old, but not an original band.

Mani'towûk Tusi'niniwûg, Manitou Place people. Resided at Manitowoc, Wis. Another old, but not original band.

Misi"nimäk Kimiko Wini'niwûk, Michilimackinac people, residing near the old fort at Mackinac, Mich. This band was lured from home by trade. An old, but not original band. There was another settlement of Menomini at Milwaukee (*Mänäwak Wini'niwûk*), and a specially notable one at Fort Howard, in the present city of Green Bay. A few stragglers doubtless camped on the site of what is now Chicago.

Subsequent to the breaking up of the local groups of the Menomini, following the arrival and settlement of the whites in their old territory, there came into existence still another grouping, or perhaps rather a renaming of the old bands, this time each tak-

ing its designation from its chief. These bands are still remembered, but rather vaguely, especially as the titles of each must have changed with the demise of the leader. There were eleven remembered in Hoffman's day, as follows: 1, *Osh'kosh*, 2, *Aia'miqta*, 3, *Sha'kitōk*, now under charge of *Ni'aqtawā'pomi*, 4, *Mä'nabū'shō*, 5, *Le Motte*, 6, *Piwä'qtinet*, 7, *Pēsh'tikō* (evidently one of the old local groups), 8, *O'hopē'sha*, 9, *Kē'shok*, or *Kē'so*, 10, *Äqkā'moi*, now under charge of *Mä'tshikine'ū^v*, 11, *Shu'nu'ni'ū^v*, or *Shu'nien*.

SOME MENOMINI PLACE NAMES IN WISCONSIN

The following list of place-names was obtained from John V. Satterlee, ex-Captain of Menomini Indian Police, of Keshena, Wisconsin, and Honorary Member of the Wisconsin Archeological Society for the Menomini tribe, in June, 1919. The names are of places famous in Menomini history and tradition, and many sites are now covered by thriving American towns and cities. Some of these names were published by the

writer, but in a somewhat faulty manner, in *The Wisconsin Archeologist*, vol. 18, no. 3, p. 97, August, 1919.

Omä''nomäneo Ishko'negün, Menomini reservation.

Oka''to ('pike place'), Oconto. Both banks of the Oconto river from its mouth to the old dam were formerly used as a place of residence by the Menomini, despite their swampy character. In later times most of the Indians lived in the city of Oconto where the lumber yards now are. Mr Satterlee lived here for three or four years prior to 1862, when he left for the present reserve.

W'a'sa'kiu ('high sandy bank'). This was an ancient Menomini village place on the sand dunes where the old dam was located. It was used more or less continuously from prehistoric days until recent times. An old half-breed Menomini woman, Mrs Misha'kwút (Covered by Clouds), still resided there in June, 1919. Many stone and copper relics, including a copper celt, and a grooved axe found by the old Indian woman, have been obtained here. When visited last June in company with Mr J. P. Schumacher of Green Bay and Dr S. A. Barrett of the Milwaukee Museum, numerous stone arrowpoints, a notched stone maul, and a native copper fishhook were collected, also some decorated sherds from the rim of a large pottery vessel. Mr Schumacher reports a small copper bannerstone found here. Some relatively recent graves of Indian children were

reported to lie under a fine tree on a knoll near Mrs Misha'kwüt's house.

Pa'xkānāo' ('branch of a river'). A village on a long narrow point where the Little river joins the Oconto. When visited by Mr Schumacher, Dr Barrett, Mr Satterlee, and the writer, this spot showed every indication of having been occupied for ages. Much pottery, a fragment of an ornamented clay pipe, numerous arrow, spear, and knife points of flint and other stones, hammerstones, and the like were obtained. Numerous hearths, charcoal, and split bones were seen, and Mr Schumacher reports copper implements. Mr Satterlee, following Indian traditions, located without difficulty a group of pits and wild rice caches dug into the edge of the bank on the east (?) side of the point. Mr Satterlee reports that among the last Indians to reside here were George McCall, John Wa'pus (Rabbit), native name Wä'nawät (Begs for Food), and the families of Charles Chickeney, native name Mätcikine'u (Terrible Eagle), and of Kine'sa (Golden Eaglet).

Pä'xkwūkiu ('pointed hill'), native name of Stiles. There is a site, now nearly destroyed, in the railroad yard here. Menomini tradition states that a *Mishi Kīnu'bik*, or monster horned hairy snake, lived in a whirlpool in the river a quarter of a mile above Stiles. An Indian mother of the long ago once sacrificed her little daughter to this beast in order to get it to give her portions of its body to make an evil medicine for witchcraft. The place was ever after noted and abhorred by the Indians, who always passed it in silence, throwing in an offering to pacify the monster.

Koxnin ('where the tornado passed'), a plain just below the Oconto falls. There is said to be an ancient Menomini village-site here.

Nepeūspa'penino' ('where water falls'), the Menomini name of Oconto falls. A Menomini village is said to have been located here.

Ona'sin Apa'kato' ('rocky rapids'), a locality called Flat Rock by the whites. An old Menomini camp or village-site.

Käkäwä'nikone ('crossing the portage'), now Underhill. This was where the Menomini carried across to Lake Shawano.

Mätc Wasa'skiū ('big high banks'), a locality on the Oconto now called Oconto Red Banks.

Saxnawé'nino' Usnä'ninä ('three rivers fork-ing'), now Suring.

Apä'sakiū ('brant [goose] land'), now called Pensaukee. There was an old Menomini village at the mouth of this creek.

Suamäko'sa ('little sand-bar'), Little Suamico. An ancient Menomini camp ground.

Mätc Sua'mäko or *Sakaua'mäko* ('great sand-bar'), now Big Suamico. An ancient Menomini village-site of large extent is situated at the mouth of the river and along the lake shore. Copper and stone objects have been found here in abundance in former years by Messrs J. P. Schumacher and Neville of Green Bay, who accompanied the writer to the spot. A bell-mouthed celt and numerous points, scrapers, and sherds were obtained. Two Menomini men, named Adams, still live near by. The site is famous in Menomini folklore, mythology, and history.

Sesipükctahē'kone ('ducks landing [from

flight]'), Duck creek, a place famous in Menomini folklore.

Putci'wikit, or, now, *Puji'kit* ('a bay in spite of itself,' or 'a bay in spite of everything'), Green bay. Menomini villages were situated on the site of the present city of Green Bay on both sides of the Fox river, and at Fort Howard (*Minä'xkäx kün*, 'a fort'), where they camped under the fort wall on the site of the present Green Bay railroad station.

Ke'xna'lao ('cape'), the Door peninsula.

Wa'na'ti'u ('a bend'), Bay Settlement.

Nämä'o Wi'kitu ('sturgeon bay'), Sturgeon Bay.

Wasa'xkiū ('high sand-bank'), Death's Door.

Apä'sitik Se'peu (meaning lost, possibly connected with *Apä'sos*, deer), Peshtigo river.

Usä'ke'wik ('at the mouth,' or 'the mouth'). The old Menomini village at the mouth of Peshtigo river.

Apä'sitikgo, Peshtigo City. Meaning of name lost.

Wapa'pako ('white stone'), White Rapids.

Musikabo'sa Pagwū'tik ('little solid liquid's falls'). Named for an Indian who once dwelt there.

Minika'ni Se'peu ('village, or town, river'), Menominee river. The city of Menominee, Michigan, is also called *Minika'ni*. This is the most noted spot in all Menomini history, for here the ancestor of the tribe first issued from the ground. Mr Satterlee was born on an island in the river between Menominee, Michigan, and Marinette, Wisconsin.

Kiniteiwuno ('long stretch'), a straight place in the Menominee river.

Uskotc Kikili ('silent place'), a locality in this river where dwells a monster who harms or drowns noisy persons.

Nämä'o Usnaka'se ('sturgeon barrier'), Sturgeon falls on the Menominee river. This was the northern inland boundary of the tribe, and here the traditional break-up of the nation into two groups (purely mythical) through a quarrel over the supply of sturgeon took place.

Kipu'akûnano, De Pere. The meaning of the name is lost.

*Oka'*kane* ('pike fishing place'), Kaukauna.
Minä'si ('island'), Menasha.

*Wawe'a*pita* ('eddy or whirlpool'), Appleton.

Mäxkinük Usteepä'tce ('where stands the blood cedar tree'), a famous landmark on Fox river near the two preceding.

Winibi'go Nipe'sa ('Winnebago lake'), Lake Winnebago.

Wasûske'sino ('new grave mound in a marsh'), Chilton. The parents of the present chief of the pagan Menomini, Indian Court Judge Sabatis Perrote, came from this place, where the Menomini had a later village. The name of the Judge's father was Peanot (Perrote) Amob.

Keskä"kwûtino ('lake bluff'), a rock ledge opposite Oshkosh City, perhaps at Chilton. A sacred spot in Menomini mythology, because here the Thunderbirds who became the ancestors of that clan alighted and turned into men.

Wanika'miu ('end of the lake'), Fond du Lac.

Osko's Omaní'kan ('Oshkosh, his city'), present city of Oshkosh. The name means either a "claw" or "brave," the connection possibly

being that in olden times the slayer of a grizzly bear wore its claws in the form of a necklace as a sign of bravery.

Osko's On'espishim ('Oshkosh, his lake'), Lake Oshkosh.

Milce'kane ('stockade'), a lake between Winneconne and Oshkosh City.

Winika'ni ('skull'), Winneconne. Named because of the large number of bleached human skulls and bones said by the Menomini to have been scattered about on the field of a battle, perhaps one of the battles between the Sauk and the French.

Pâwahi'kane ("where wild rice is gathered"), Lake Poygan. The Menomini lived about this body of water in relatively recent times.

Muhwâ'o Se'peu ('wolf river'), the present Wolf river.

Pinä'o Wi'ko ('partridge crop'), the present Partridge lake.

Akuanä'nûk Se'peu ('stranded log river'), New London.

Sake'mäo Watenâ ('mosquito hill'), a locality a little above New London, on the Wolf.

Wa'sa'skiu ('high banks'), another locality with this common name.

Mäno'na Kitciu ('at the clay bank'), Brick-yard.

Mä'no'mäne Sa'iak ('wild rice along the banks'), Shiocton, site of a recent Menomini settlement.

Wa'kitcon Oma'nikûn ('Wakitcon, his town'). Chief Wakitcon's village was here. The Chief's name was really Wakajonä'pe (Crooked Beak), the personal name of the Thunderbirds, preserved in the Thunder clan of the Menomini.

Ona'mun Usta't ('where vermillion exists, or is had'), a clay bank on Wolf river near Waki-tcon's town, resorted to for red paint.

Kutahä'kukane ('shooting-at-targets place'), a landmark at which the Indians always shot when passing.

*Anäkä*xkika* ('bark-house place'), a Menomini settlement just above the town of Wauke-chon.

"*Pone*" *Omä'nigan* ('Pony's town'). Named for a white settler and trader called "Pony Richmond."

SETTLEMENTS ON THE MENOMINI RESERVATION

Omä"nomäneo Ishko'negün, Menomini reservation.

Oka'to'sa ('little pike place'), South Branch settlement.

Keshi'niuv ('swift-flying'), Keshena Agency; named for a former chief.

Kowa'pomi Mä'nigan ('Vanishing's town'). Named for some old Indian notable. The pagan settlement where Judge Perrote and Wi'sâno-kút now live.

Akine'bui ('the standing land'), a settlement a few miles from Keshena.

Ni'uopêt ('four-seated,' or 'four in a den'). Neopit, named for the old chief, son of Osh-kosh, recently deceased.

Nihitukwûne Mi'nikan (translation not given). The name is the same as that of the West Branch settlement on Wolf river. Zoar settlement of "pigan" Menomini.

Niga'nis Omä'nigan (Niganis, a Potawatomi personal name), a settlement near Phlox.

Perote, a station on the railroad named for the late Indian Court Judge, Sabatis Perrote.

Askenêt ('one that is raw,' 'uncooked'), a locality named for a former Indian court judge.

Näku'ti Uskinawe'nät ('Sunfish's [a personal name] berry-patch'), a locality between Keshena and South Branch settlement, where the late Philip Näku'ti gathered berries. Also called *Näku'ti Nu'wisokun*, with the same meaning. There is a large mound-group here.

Pikwû'kûnao Omâ'nikun ('outdone in shooting town'). Named for an old Menomini chief. The "shooting" referred to here is that act (so called) as performed with otter-skin medicine-bags inside the medicine-lodge. Now Satterlee (named for J. V. Satterlee) on Oconto river, just off the reserve.

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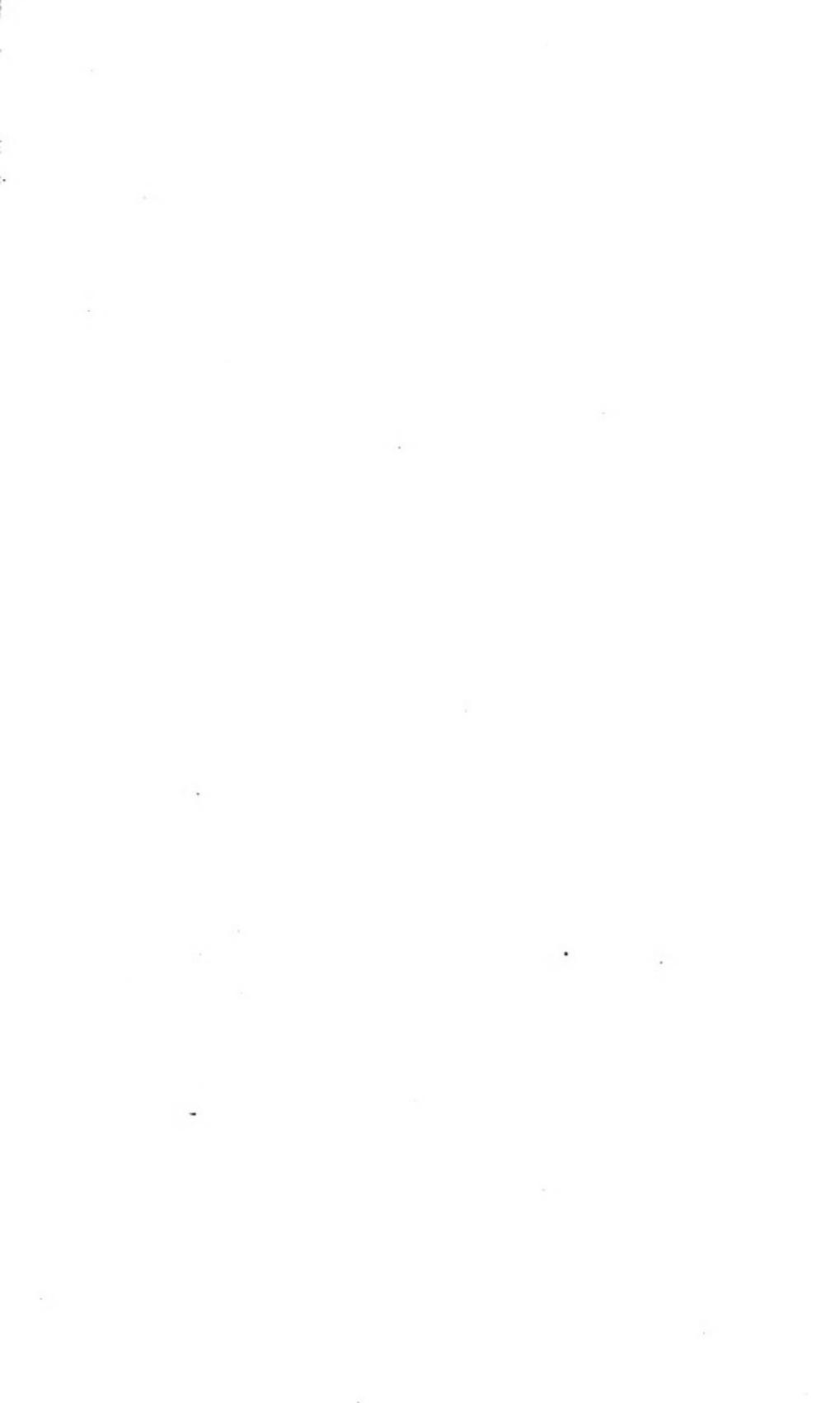
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